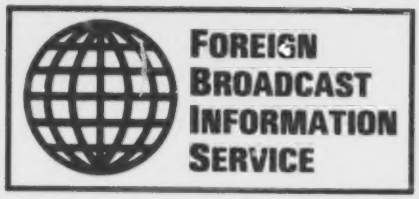

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Thursday
17 January 1991

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Soviet Union

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CONTENTS

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WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Churkin Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 16 Jan 1
- Notes Gorbachev Foreign Ministry Meeting *[TASS]* 1
- Reports Bessmertnykh Calls Baker *[TASS]* 1
- Plans for Summit Continue *[TASS]* 1
- Support Noted for UN Efforts *[TASS]* 1
- Sends Condolence on Palestinian Deaths *[TASS]* 2
- Protests Attacks in Poland *[Moscow Radio]* 2
- On USSR-Mongolian Relations *[TASS]* 2
- Raps U.S. Supplies to El Salvador *[TASS]* 2

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Reaffirms Dedication to Cooperation *[Moscow International]* 4
U.S. Views, Stipulations on Aid Analyzed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 1]* 4

Northeast Asia

Additional Data on 1983 KAL Shootdown Sought *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 7
Deputy Premier Arrives in ROK For Trade Talks *[Moscow International]* 9

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Statement on Gulf War Initiation *[Moscow TV]* 9
Officials Say 112 Citizens Still in Iraq *[TASS]* 10
Official Reactions to War in Gulf Reported 10
- Belonogov Gives Briefing *[TASS]* 10
- Defense Ministry Expects 'Escalation' *[TASS]* 11
- Foreign Ministry Official Voices Regret *[TASS]* 11
- UN Envoy Identifies Hopes *[Moscow International]* 12

Resort to Force in Gulf Proved 'Inevitable' *[TASS]* 12
Soviet Public Said To Favor Halting War *[TASS]* 12
Akhromeyev Interviewed on Soviet Stance *[Rome AVANTI! 13-14 Jan]* 13
Churkin's Gulf Policy Defense Rebutted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 9 Jan]* 14
Alleged 'Virus' in Iraq's French Weapons Noted *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 15

East Europe

Problems Beset Troop Withdrawals From East Europe *[Moscow TV]* 16

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Approves 17 Mar Referendum *[TASS]* 17
Decision on Gulf Development Issued *[TASS]* 17
Belonogov on Iraqi Attitude to Use of Force *[Moscow Radio]* 17
Gorbachev Warned Committee Seeks His Ouster *[Moscow Radio]* 18
Proposals on Press Causes Stormy Reaction *[Moscow Radio]* 18
Delegation Reports on Visit to Lithuania *[Moscow Radio]* 19
Deputies Demand Airing of Program on Lithuania *[Moscow TV]* 19
Deputies' Groups Issue Contrasting Statements *[TASS]* 20
Supreme Soviet 16 January Session Detailed *[Moscow TV]* 20
Presidium Examines Supreme Soviet Session Results *[TASS]* 21

Political & Social

Gorbachev Stresses No Foreign Policy Change *[TASS]* 22
Shevardnadze on Bessmertnykh Appointment *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 22
Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh Profiled *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 23
Bakatin Urges 'Hearing' on Vilnius Violence *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Jan]* 23
TASS Defends Lithuanian Reporting 24
Crackdown in Lithuania Analyzed *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 24
Moscow Demonstration for Lithuania Scheduled *[Moscow Radio]* 26
Gorbachev Meets 'Survival' Committee *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 26
Gorbachev Addresses CPSU Program Commission *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 28
Dzasokhov Addresses CPSU Renewal Conference *[PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 31
New Prime Minister Pavlov Profiled *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 33
Pavlov Answers Questions *[Moscow Radio]* 34
Commentator Critiques New Premier, Cabinet *[TASS]* 35
Yanayev on New Cabinet, Gorbachev Visit *[Tokyo NHK]* 35
Estonia's Ruutel on Presidential Power *[SOYUZ No 52]* 36
Islamic Revival Party Leader Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jan]* 38
CPSU Secretariat Assesses Rostov Farm Work *[PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 40
Lenin Said To Be Incorrect on Religion *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 8 Jan]* 41
Radical Political Movement Leader Introduced *[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY 5 Jan]* 43
Lawyer Comments on Solzhenitsyn 'Error' *[Moscow SOYUZ No 51]* 44
Editor on Solzhenitsyn Volumes' Status *[KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE No 49]* 45
Bonner Wants Sakharov's Name Off Nobel List *[Moscow Radio]* 46

Economic

Finance Minister Opposes Salary Freezes *[NEDELYA No 52]* 46
Shape of New Budget Viewed *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 11 Jan]* 47
Strike Committee Head Details Strike Policy *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 10 Jan]* 48
New Miners' Union Deputy Chairman Interviewed *[TRUD 4 Jan]* 50
Interrepublic Strife Obstructing Economic Ties *[Moscow TV]* 51
Article Views Proposed COCOM 'Reform' *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jan]* 52

Scientific

'Progress M-6' Docks With Mir 16 January *[TASS]* 52
Experiments Continue on 'Mir' Station 15 Jan *[TASS]* 53

Military

Official on Military-Political Bodies in Forces *[TASS]* 53
Three Killed in Attack on Military Vehicle *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 53
Moiseyev Spends Two Days Visiting Leningrad *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jan]* 54
AWOL Soldiers Asked To Use 'Common Sense' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 54
Press Chief on Rounding Up Draft Evaders *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 12 Jan]* 54

Resolution on Insurance, Hardship Post Leave *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 55

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

CPSU Politburo Issues Statement on Lithuania *[Moscow TV]* 56
Landsbergis, Gromov Agree to Preliminary Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Supreme Soviet Sends Envoy to Lithuania *[Moscow International]* 56
Envoy Addresses Supreme Council *[Radio Kaunas]* 57
Troops Reportedly Acted on Moscow Orders *[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE 15 Jan]* 57
Defense Ministry on Media Facts 'Falsification' *[Moscow TV]* 58
Colonel on Appeal Not To Attack Civilians *[Radio Kaunas]* 58
Commander Says Vilnius 'Extremely Tense' *[TASS]* 59
On Curfew Suspension *[Moscow TV]* 59
Foreign Minister Saudargas Cited in London *[Radio Kaunas]* 59
Lithuanian Envoy Not Recalled From Moscow *[TASS]* 59
Muscovites Visit Mission for 'Objective' Info *[Radio Rossii]* 59
Vilnius Garrison Appeals to Gorbachev, RSFSR *[TASS]* 60
KGB Officers Condemnn Force in Lithuania, Resign *[Vilnius International]* 60
Former Minister Bakatin Condemns Vilnius Events *[Moscow International]* 60
Further on National Salvation Committee Appeal *[TASS]* 61
Salvation Committee in Vilnius Radio Works *[Radio Kaunas]* 61
Gosteleradio Issues Document on Radio Seizure *[Moscow TV]* 61
Bodies Reportedly Removed From TV Building *[Radio Kaunas]* 61
Landsbergis on Situation Inside TV Station *[Vilnius International]* 62
Moscow TV: No Bodies, Hostages in TV Tower 62
Report on Funerals for TV Tower Victims *[Radio Rossii]* 62
Funeral Services, Rally Planned *[TASS]* 62
Requiem Sermon Decries Vengeance *[Radio Kaunas]* 63
Riga Broadcasts Funeral Report *[Riga Radio]* 63
Victims Awarded Posthumous Honors *[Radio Kaunas]* 63
Drivers Advised To Avoid 'Incidents' *[Radio Kaunas]* 63
Power Cut 'Rumors' 'Without Foundation' *[Radio Kaunas]* 64
Workers Suspend Strike Decision *[Moscow Radio]* 64
Official Shows Weapons Seized in Lithuania *[TASS]* 64
Kaunas Garrison Expresses No Confidence in Mayor *[Vilnius International]* 64
Report on Kaunas 'Political Strike' Denied *[Radio Kaunas]* 64
'600 Seconds' Program on Events in Lithuania 64
TV Film Called 'Propaganda' *[Riga Radio]* 66
Popular Front Denounces TV Film *[Riga Radio]* 66
Confusion Over Vilnius, Kaunas Radios Discerned *[Riga Radio]* 66
Communist Broadcasters Fail To Recruit Staff *[Vilnius International]* 66
Radio Vilnius Comments on Listeners' Response *[Vilnius International]* 67
Silence on Mourning for Victims Deplored *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 67
IZVESTIYA Reviews 11 Jan Events *[12 Jan]* 68

Latvia

Official Responses to Latvian Situation Reported 70
Gorbunovs Holds News Conference *[AFP]* 70
Godmanis Sees Less Tension *[TASS]* 70
Deputies Comment on Events *[Moscow TV]* 70
Minister Expects Future 'Explosions' *[Riga Radio]* 71
Supreme Soviet Claims Victory Over Opposition *[Riga Radio]* 71
Black Berets Shoot, Kill Truck Driver 16 Jan *[Riga Radio]* 71
'First Victim of Red Fascism' Noted *[Riga Radio]* 72
Ministry Promises Action *[Riga Radio]* 72
Reports on Situation in Latvia Detailed 72

Riga Tension, Coup Rumors Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 16 Jan]* 72
Soldiers Refuse March on Riga *[Warsaw TV]* 73
Rumors on Deserters Denied *[Riga Radio]* 73
Reporters Refuse To 'Disinform' *[Riga Radio]* 73
Reports on Strikes Unconfirmed *[Riga Radio]* 73
5,000 Said To Participate in 15 Jan Rally *[Riga Radio]* 74
Latvia Awaits News, Effects From War in Gulf *[Riga Radio]* 74
Commentary Views Situation, Gulf Parallels *[Riga Radio]* 74
Calm in Latvia Believed 'A Long Way Off' *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 74
'Shadow of Misfortune' Said Cast Over Baltics *[Riga Radio]* 75
Legislature Announces Food Prices To Triple *[Moscow Radio]* 75

Estonia

Source Says Presidential Rule 'Within Hours' *[Riga Radio]* 75
Demonstrators' Demands 'Totally Unrealistic' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Jan]* 76
Legislature To Reply in 10 Days *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Council To Discuss Ultimatum Reply *[TASS]* 77
Protesters To Meet With Supreme Soviet Members *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 77
Estonian Authorities Seek Help From Reserves *[Tallinn Radio]* 78
Workers Assail Yeltsin 'Secret' Departure *[Moscow Radio]* 78
People's Front Schedules Rally for 20 Jan *[Tallinn Radio]* 78
Russian Deputies in Estonia Demand Acts' Repeal *[TASS]* 78
Estonian Deputy Criticizes Treaty With RSFSR *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 79

RSFSR

Moscow Trade Unions Seek Gorbachev Resignation *[Radio Rossii]* 79
General Rules Out Coup Possibility *[Radio Rossii]* 79
Leningrad Soviet Convenes Emergency Session *[TASS]* 79
Deputies Adopt Appeal on Lithuania *[TASS]* 80
Leningrad Communists Oppose Force in Lithuania *[Moscow TV]* 80
Chita Deputies Urge Stabilization Measures *[Moscow Radio]* 80
Yeltsin, Nordic Envoys Discuss Lithuania *[Moscow International]* 80
RSFSR Urges UN Conference on Baltic Crisis *[Radio Rossii]* 80
Yelstin's UN Appeal, Army Idea Criticized *[PRAVDA 16 Jan]* 81
Khasbulatov Views Yeltsin, Baltics, Army *[Radio Rossii]* 81
Buryatia Rejects Moscow-Named KGB Chief *[TASS]* 85
Estonia Ratifies Treaty With RSFSR *[Moscow Radio]* 85
Siberians Appeal to Gorbachev, Yeltsin on Prices *[Moscow Radio]* 85

Western Republics

Moldovan Legislature Deplores Force in Lithuania *[TASS]* 85
'No Roundups of Conscripts' Planned in Moldova *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 86
Ukrainian Presidium Deplores Vilnius Violence *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 86
Rukh Meeting Protests Events in Lithuania *[Kiev International]* 86
Interim Coal Price Agreement Averts Mine Strike *[Moscow TV]* 86
Ukrainian Communist Leader on Party's Role *[TASS]* 87
Ukraine Prosecutor Defends Investigation *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 87
Ukraine Recognizes Religious Holidays *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 3 Jan]* 87

Caucasus

Cease-Fire Agreement Said Reached in South Ossetia *[Moscow TV]* 88
'Uneasy' Night in Tskhinvali *[Moscow TV]* 88
Georgians Stage Hunger Strike at Moscow Mission *[Radio Rossii]* 88
MVD Troops Assist With Ossetia Quake Relief *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 88
Armenians in Tbilisi Rally To Support Georgia *[ARMENPRES]* 88
Yerevan 'Guerrillas' To Be 'Exterminated' *[Yerevan International]* 89
Armenia Protests NKAO Rayon Abolition *[Moscow Radio]* 89
Armenian Legislature Discusses Lithuania *[Yerevan Radio]* 89
Warning for Armenia in Lithuanian Events Seen *[Yerevan International]* 90

Churkin Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 16 Jan

Notes Gorbachev Foreign Ministry Meeting

LD1601142191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev met this morning with members of the collegium and top officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry. It was with this report that Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate opened today's briefing. He described the meeting as a "rare and important" event. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who was yesterday confirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet as Soviet foreign minister, was present at the meeting, as was Eduard Shevardnadze, former head of the Soviet foreign policy department.

"In presenting the new minister," Vitaliy Churkin said, "Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the immutability of the foreign policy course of the USSR and indicated the need actively to continue it."

The Foreign Ministry representative also told journalists that during his conversation with top Foreign Ministry officials the Soviet leader expressed gratitude to Shevardnadze for his involvement "in forming, formulating, and implementing" the country's foreign policy in recent years and wished Aleksandr Bessmertnykh success in this field.

Reports Bessmertnykh Calls Baker

LD1601134491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Soviet-U.S. relations and the situation in the Baltic were among the main issues discussed during a telephone conversation last night between USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Informing journalists of this conversation at a briefing today, Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry said:

"Matters of Soviet-U.S. relations and the further maintenance and development of contacts were dicsussed. The situation in the Baltic was also touched on."

Plans for Summit Continue

LD1601214991 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Excerpt] Moscow January 16 TASS—[passage omitted] Replying to reporters' questions, Churkin repeated that the Soviet Foreign Ministry was instructed to prepare for the Soviet-American summit in Moscow by February 11-13.

The spokesman stressed that the Ministry has no other instruction and "we proceed from the premise that the summit will be held during the above time".

Churkin noted that this evening another group of Soviet citizens, numbering 107, would arrive from Iraq. It includes staff members of the embassy, trade mission, consulate general in Basra, correspondents of the State Television and Radio Committee and specialists.

The Soviet Union intends to cut to the minimum the number of its citizens in Iraq, including diplomats, he said. When this group arrives in Moscow, about 35 Soviet specialists will remain in Iraq to guard economic facilities and nearly 100 staffers of diplomatic, consular and other offices.

The spokesman refuted rumours that 60 foreign correspondents were brought back from Vilnius last night. "These rumours are groundless," he stressed. "Nobody took such actions with respect to foreign journalists."

Churkin presented his first deputy Alexander Rozanov to journalists at the briefing.

Support Noted for UN Efforts

LD1601152591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction the statement made on Tuesday in New York by UN Secretary General Perez De Cuellar, stated Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing today. This statement shows, he noted, that there is still a chance for a political solution to the crisis in the Persian gulf and attunes people to the need to do all that can be done to this end.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative said that by his statement the UN secretary general is sending a clear signal calling for the rigorous fulfillment of Security Council resolutions and demanding the start of a complete withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and that at this critical moment Iraq should have a responsible approach that would make it possible to untangle the crisis in the Persian Gulf and deal with resolving other problems aggravating the situation in the Near East. "Everything now depends on Iraq," stressed Vitaliy Churkin. "The Soviet Union will continue its energetic activity using the methods of 'quiet diplomacy' and will support the efforts of the UN secretary general and Security Council."

Sends Condolence on Palestinian Deaths

LD1701003191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1437 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 January (TASS)—Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing today expressed "profound regret" at the death of two members of the Palestinian leadership in Tunis on 14 January. [passage omitted].

The death of the members of the Palestinian leadership, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated, "once again reminds one of the importance of the implementation of swift and persistent efforts to eliminate military-politican tension in the Near East and toward a radical improvement in the situation in that region."

Vitaliy Churkin informed journalists of the fact that the USSR ambassador in Tunis has been instructed to express condolences to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in connection with the death of his comrades.

Protests Attacks in Poland

LD1601153991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today, Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Ministry's Information directorate, spoke to journalists. [passage omitted]

He reported that another 100 Soviet citizens are arriving from Baghdad tonight, so some 130 experts from our country are left in Iraq.

Vitaliy Churkin also dwelled on the situation around the Soviet Foreign Ministry institutions in the Polish republic. In particular he said:

[Begin Churkin recording] In the last few days, during demonstrations outside the gates of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw, attempts have been made to break into the grounds, explosive devices have been used, and threats of physical violence against Soviet diplomats have been made. Aggressive acts have also been carried out against the USSR Consulates General in Krakow, Gdansk, Szczecin, and Poznan. On 14 January in Krakow, a crowd of hooligans broke into the grounds of the Soviet Consulate General and pelted the building with gasoline bombs, as a result of which fires broke out, which were put out with difficulty. The Polish authorities did not take sufficiently effective measures to stop the hostile actions against the embassy and consular institutions of the Soviet Union.

On 15 January, the Polish charge in Moscow was invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry and the appropriate representations were made to him. The demand was made to take due measures to prevent violation of extraterritoriality and to ensure the complete safety of the Soviet diplomatic and consular missions, as well as other institutions in the Polish Republic. [end recording]

On USSR-Mongolian Relations

LD1601202291 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin called the present stage in Soviet- Mongolian relations a period for renewing the contractual-legal basis of bilateral cooperation.

He said this at a briefing here today on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of signing the 1966 treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Mongolia and the USSR, which was marked on Tuesday.

"The USSR and Mongolia were guided for 25 years by this treaty in their mutual relations," the spokesman said. "The treaty helped create modern Soviet-Mongolian relations characteristic of broad political, economic, cultural, scientific and humanitaian contacts."

"The history of the treaty and, consequently, the history of our relations is rich in traditions," Churkin stressed, admitting at the same time that these relations were sometimes marred by miscalculations.

"We are now seeking to settle long-standing problems, clear our cooperation of all irrelevant things and put it on a truly advantageous and equal basis. We believe that our relations have great prospects."

Turning to the initiative of the Mongolian side which favoured the revamping of the 1966 treaty, the spokesman said: "We agreed to the revamping, mindful of the fact that many new issues of bilateral, regional and global nature have appeared in international practices and in inter-state, including Soviet-Mongolian, relations.

"It is impossible to resolve these issues by using the provisions of the operating treaty."

He said that the drafting of a new treaty began. The spokesman stressed that this is only part of extensive work to renew the entire contractual-legal basis of Soviet-Mongolian relations.

Raps U.S. Supplies to El Salvador

LD1601184391 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin today described as "hopeless" attempts to resolve the El Salvador crisis by force.

He commented on U.S. President George Bush's decision to grant El Salvador 42.5 million dollars to buy

arms, which had been frozen by U.S. Congress to force the Salvadoran Government into negotiations with the rebel Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

Bush explained his decision by the rebels' intransigence in peace talks, their acts of violence against civilians, and substantial military aid allegedly received by them from outside El Salvador.

"The hopelessness of attempts to overcome the Salvadorean crisis by force has been graphically demonstrated by the more than ten-year-old civil war, and any significant increase in the military potential of either side can only postpone a solution to the crisis," Churkin commented.

"Like before, we believe that the efforts of the international community, including the Soviet Union and the United States, should concentrate on facilitating a fair political settlement in El Salvador," he added.

"The Soviet Union has invariably stood for a complete end to weapons supplies to Central American countries, and proved this commitment with practical actions," Churkin said.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Reaffirms Dedication to Cooperation

LD1701000191 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Speaking in the Kremlin on Tuesday, President Gorbachev again stressed the special significance of Soviet-American relations for a good international climate. He reaffirmed his dedication to greater understanding with and trust of President Bush and his Administration. Our commentary has been prepared by Vladislav Kozyakov.

The statement of the Soviet President comes at a critical time for Soviet-American relations. There has been much speculation in the United States as to whether the change in leadership of the Soviet Foreign Ministry might not mean a change in foreign policy. In addition, developments in Lithuania have prompted warnings from Washington that relations with the Soviet Union might go into reverse. But all the signs are that the new relations, based on partnership and cooperation, are weathering every storm.

On Tuesday the Soviet legislature agreed to the appointment of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh as foreign minister. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh is an acknowledged supporter of the new political thinking and has had a hand in all the major agreements the Soviet Union has signed with the United States in recent years. His appointment dispels the fears expressed in Washington.

The White House has welcomed his appointment. Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater has said the President has known him for a number of years, and this is a man who has been very instrumental in shaping U.S.-Soviet relations. We know him well said Mr. Fitzwater; we respect him, we can work with him. According to an Associated Press correspondent, officials of the Bush administration view the appointment as a sign that President Gorbachev remains anxious to pursue warmer relations between the two powers despite his problems at home. On this matter, in short, there is clearly understanding between Moscow and Washington and a mutual desire to promote a partnership.

Understanding each other is most essential in all situations, even the most complicated. The events in Lithuania are one of these complicated situations. There is no need for warnings from Washington about the consequences of a deterioration. President Gorbachev and the Soviet and peopel are all much concerned. Every effort is being made to adjust the problems that arise in a legal and democratic way.

Soviet-American dialogue and cooperation go beyond bilateral relations. It is largely up to our two powers to settle the problems of nuclear disarmament, strengthen the United Nations coalition against the Iraqi aggression, and create and maintain a new world order. Hence the attention attracted by President Gorbachev's statement on Tuesday that he remains dedicated to greater understanding with and trust of President Bush and the Administration. In the present complex situation such a statement is highly important.

U.S. Views, Stipulations on Aid Analyzed

91UF0329A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 91 p 4

[Article by Edgar Cheporov, NOVOSTI Information Agency and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent: "Loans? Only With Reforms as Collateral!"]

[Text] New York—**Two points of view exist in America on the issue of aid to the USSR. Its opponents maintain that it merely prolongs the agony of the administrative command system and slows down reforms. Perestroyka will not get off the ground without extensive and thought out Western aid—insists proponents of granting immediate aid to a sick Soviet economy. It is so far unclear which point of view U.S. President G. Bush will prefer....**

Peter Marcy told me: "Nobody will help you Russians if you do not help yourselves and finally start moving toward a market. No matter how much foodstuffs you buy in the West and no matter how many packages are sent from there, this will not solve your agricultural problem. It is hard to use Western financial 'injections' wisely in the Soviet economy. But is this to say that America should not spend its dollars to help the Soviet Union? No, it is not. This money should be spent to create such conditions and such an infrastructure in the USSR that you will begin to produce an abundance of products, and in that case there will be no need for Western aid."

Representing the Mooreman Company, one of the largest and oldest firms in the United States producing fodder additives, Peter Marcy has been negotiating unsuccessfully for several years with our foreign trade and agricultural chiefs. He has visited sovkhozes [state farms] in the vicinity of Belgorod and Stavropol, he has been to Siberia. Mooreman additives, which have proven themselves many times in America and other countries, including the USSR, would keep us from spending billions of dollars annually to import grain.

This project has been discussed many times, and has been approved many times. This has been the end of it. Murakhovskiy, the head of the Agroindustrial Committee, embraced Marcy when he managed to make the Moscow partner understand the obvious advantages of this transaction for both parties. Nikitin, another foodstuffs chief of ours, told Marcy something along these lines: "All of Siberia is before you. Feed the people, mister...." Nikonov, a still more senior chief, ordered dozens of copies of an article by Marcy in NOVOYE VREMYA to be run off. In the article, the American argued that every peasant farmstead should have grain

storage facilities. Apparently, the xerox copies were not put to use. There was nowhere to store the last overabundant crop.

Perhaps, part of the reason for the failure of the Mooreman proposal to be accepted is that it undermined the practice of grain purchases which evolved over decades. Understandably, Americans are interested in them. We also appear to like this grain business, however—it is easier to purchase it than to grow it. Had we signed transactions with Mooreman and other similar companies promptly, however, our animal husbandry would be different even now, and there would be more meat. Peter Marcy's offer was: The Americans would computerize farms, train Soviet employees, and fine tune technology. What is this—American aid? If it is aid, then it is aid to themselves, too. After all, high technology can yield high profits for Mooreman. We could have acquired technology and experience which would ultimately make us independent of anybody's aid, and would turn us from addressees of foreign packages into full-fledged partners in world business. We did not acquire them because Mooreman did not want to invest money without guarantees, however. The U.S. Government or international financial organizations could have given such guarantees to this company, as well as others, but they did not. They did not give guarantees. Incidentally, they still have not.

A discussion in America on whether it is worthwhile to help the Russians developed in several stages. Early in the course of perestroyka, before glasnost showed our cards—there were few trump cards among them, as it turned out—the Americans believed that by investing in the Soviet economy the United States would willy-nilly reinforce "Soviet military might" which, understandably, should not be done. At present, few people believe that the Soviet Government is hatching plans to attack America militarily. They say here that at present the Russians have no power to threaten—given their economy. A thesis has been born and asserted before our very eyes: No Western aid will benefit the Soviet Union until the latter proves its desire to abide by the laws of a market economy. Since all of this is not going to happen overnight and will be a difficult and painful process for the USSR, the following question unavoidably arose: Should America take part in this process and on what terms?

American leaders have difficulty coming up with an answer to this question, a practical answer. Washington did not announce until very recently that America would provide humanitarian assistance to the Soviet Union, as well as provide $1 billion in loans to purchase foodstuffs from the United States. Early this year, G. Bush will propose that the U.S. Congress ratify a treaty on trade with the USSR signed during the June summit. They believe that customs fees for our goods will be "extremely low, and this will help them to enter American markets."

It is even more important that America expressed its willingness to facilitate our integration into the world economic system for the first time. We have been given the go-ahead for participation in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, albeit not as a full-fledged member. For many years, the United States kept us far away from these organizations. The White House has stated now that the International Monetary Fund is called upon to give assistance to the USSR in implementing financial and tax reforms, and the World Bank may extend long-term loans for restructuring industry, transportation, and the energy sector.

To appreciate the significance of these developments, I will recall that as recently as July of last year, at a meeting of the leaders of "the seven"—the main capitalist countries—Washington rejected the proposals of its partners to provide loans and foodstuffs to the USSR. Quite recently, the U.S. Administration strictly linked Moscow's adoption of the law on entry and exit with the future of the Jackson-Vanik amendment which denied us most-favored nation status. As is known, there is no such law now; however, the President suspended the effect of the mighty amendment with his authority. He has also partially accepted the July recommendations of his partners.

Of course, humanitarian aid combined with a $1 billion credit will not pull us out of the crisis. The Americans understand this full well, and do not cast themselves as "saviors." Moreover, having announced the suspension of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, they warned: It is "frozen" for not more than half a year, and if the Soviet law on emigration is still not passed everything will return to where it used to be.

The administration did not want to encourage our illusions concerning permanent American rations. Besides, it could not but reckon with those who ask, for example, why the United States does not send the same kind of food aid to Africa and Asia where people are actually staving to death. Meanwhile, there is food in the USSR, but for some reason they cannot manage the food soundly. At a recent scientific conference, I heard what I am convinced are sober statements to the effect that "emergency" food aid will not bring anything but harm to both sides. An explanation followed: Such assistance causes fits of panic in the USSR: "Perhaps, we have hit bottom since even Americans are sending food to us." It was also said there that such "aid" merely distracts America and the West from really solid projects. It will be immeasurably more useful for the USSR to receive grain-storage facilities and refrigerated railway cars instead of bananas and instant coffee which will be eaten and drunk in one evening. If the USSR is given aid in training managers who know what marketing and competition are, these cadres will go about perestroyka knowledgeably rather than blindly. As we can see, at issue is the creation of precisely those conditions which will help us to later give up assistance, which is what the aforementioned Peter Marcy had in mind.

I am convinced that when G. Bush and J. Baker proposed the current scenario of aid to the USSR they were already familiar with a study done by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, though it had not yet been released then. At the July meeting of "the seven" in Houston, the above organizations were instructed to analyze the economic situation in the USSR in order to find out whether extensive aid should be given, as the Europeans insisted, or whether this should be done with greater moderation, which the American leaders were leaning towards. Eighty-nine experts, including from the Soviet Union, took part in preparing "The Report of Four." Their conclusion was: Immediate but restricted aid to the USSR is needed. The West should refrain from supporting the USSR financially, with the exception of loans for foodstuffs, "until the Soviet Union takes radical steps in the direction of a market economy."

Having received this degree of access to Soviet information for the first time, Western economists determined that the USSR gross national product amounts to merely one-tenth of the American gross product, and in per capita terms is "closer to that of Costa Rica than that of Western Europe." Commentators noted that against the background of such assessments CIA conclusions regarding the Soviet economy appear to be an embellishment of reality.

SEVERAL STATISTICS FROM THE REPORT. In proportion to the number of inhabitants, the USSR has one-quarter of the telephone lines and one-eighth of the cars Western Europe has. Eighteen percent of Soviet families have been on housing waiting lists for more than 10 years and, on average, the number of square meters of housing space per-capita in the USSR is one-half that in Western Europe. In the USSR, 20 percent of the grain crop and 40 percent of the vegetable and fruit crops are lost. On the whole, our annual loss of foodstuffs is estimated to amount to $20 billion. It is precisely this amount that the USSR spends to import foodstuffs.

In recent years, the economy of the USSR has precipitously plunged into a crisis. In 1990, the output of all industrial and agricultural products, including the sphere of services, dropped by four percent, and this year, a five percent decline is expected. Unemployment will come to six million people. The rate of inflation will increase to 40 percent, and the foreign debt will amount to $52 billion. Fewer and fewer foreign bankers will agree to loan hard currency to us. These are the features of "the Great Depression" of the late 1920's and early 1930's. Nothing of this kind has happened in any large power in the entire post-war period.

What is to be done under the circumstances? I have asked American economists this question many times. When the situation was not yet as critical as it has become, the most frequent answer was that Western science has never addressed this problem because it simply has not existed. A year ago, Ed Hewett from the Brookings Institution, an expert on the Soviet economy, told me: "We know how a market economy works, but we do not know how a socialist, planned economy is to be converted to this mode. Nonetheless, I hope that such a way will be found through joint efforts."

"The Report of Four" is the first such attempt. The authors write that the system of centralized planning in the USSR was destroyed but still has not been replaced with the market. A reduction in the budget deficit, liberalization of prices, privatization of small businesses, denationalization of major production facilities, and the adoption of legal rights to property are necessary for establishing markets.

It is proposed to carry out privatization in the economy gradually, whereas its stabilization should proceed at a rapid rate. A reduction in the budget deficit and the absorption of billions of rubles in savings may be ensured through freezing wages, reducing state expenditures, and increasing taxes and the rate of interest on bank deposits. In the process, the extreme method of controlling excessive demand, a monetary reform which will shortchange the populace, is ruled out. On the whole, the authors of the report proceed from the preservation of the Soviet Union as a unified state. They proceed from the existence of a unified currency (the ruble will become convertible) and from the republics and the center being able to come to an agreement on approaches to trade, taxes, and general national expenditures. The journal ECONOMIST believes that such recommendations "may be the only way for M. Gorbachev to reinforce the authority of the central government while still remaining faithful to the course of reforms."

The U.S. Administration categorically supported the conclusions of this document. Just a few days earlier, at a news conference of our and American ministers of foreign affairs in Houston, I wrote down the words of J. Baker that American aid to the USSR "should be a bridge to a free market rather than support the current undecided economic liberalization." In our parlance, the aid will be allocated for specific purposes.

In old times, such words could have been considered "interference" in our internal affairs. These affairs have long turned into an international factor, however. What is happening in our country, shaken by economic and ethnic conflicts, cannot but concern the United States. They discuss American aid and Soviet missiles here in the same context increasingly often. Here is a characteristic letter from a reader of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Patrick Finnegan wrote: "Will we feed the Russians? Should we act right now or wait until the next revolution? But imagine a Romania armed with 4,000 missiles...."

From the very first years of perestroyka, warnings have been sounded here: By helping the USSR, we merely prolong the agony of the administrative command

system. Let the old "be reduced to ashes!" It appears to me that G. Bush's people looked for a long time at this harsh and seemingly logical construct. M. Gorbachev did not fit within this construct in any way, however; there was no role for him given this course of events. Besides, the authors of the thesis on the reduction to ashes avoided predictions of the destructive consequences of the flames which were "to purify" the country and the people. The U.S. Administration did not want to dismiss precisely these circumstances, and once again confirmed that it was providing aid "predicated on Gorbachev"—confirmed this, despite rebukes that it was "saving the Soviet president" and despite proposals to "freeze" Soviet-American relations.

Indeed, for the first time Washington showed its desire to give up the position of a detached observer of the upheaval of Soviet perestroyka, but took only a first step in this direction. For the administration, dramatic changes in the USSR became the most convincing argument in favor of reconsidering the old position: The prospect of chaos appeared, and far right, extremist forces began to enter the political arena. The resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze made Washington take this danger seriously. America "sent a signal" to our turbulent society which is losing its bearings: It continues to support the Soviet leader and support the reforms. This was also a signal to the leader himself, however: The time for half-measures and appeals to obsolete slogans is over; it is time to start living according to the laws of the economy which drives the entire world.

Following the statement by the Soviet minister, J. Baker said: "Our new relations with the USSR depend on whether democratization and reforms in this country will proceed." The authors of "The Report of Four" believe that their document and the solutions it proposes will be of assistance to those in the Soviet Union who are interested in the success of democratic reforms. Will they? Are they capable of this? I have heard repeatedly in recent days that Western and, in particular, American reaction to Soviet half-measures in the implementation of reforms ultimately amounts to no more than a half-measure itself. The West calls on the USSR to make radical changes, but is in no hurry to contribute to them itself by means of truly large-scale investments. Why? In order not to become a laughing-stock if perestroyka fails, THE NEW YORK TIMES believes. If the threat of reaction in the USSR is real, writes the newspaper, "it becomes increasingly important for the West to tip the scales in favor of reformers and offer them aid on the condition the reforms are continued. By investing its billions in support of Soviet reforms, the West will risk merely a small segment of its collective wealth. It will risk immeasurably more by refusing to provide such aid." The newspaper argues that funds, and very considerable funds at that, need to be invested in the Soviet economy right now, without waiting for the reforms to become a fact. Current Western loans to the Soviet Union are clearly insufficient; G. Bush is making a mistake by refusing to grant the USSR the status of a full-fledged member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—organizations which are capable of rapidly integrating the Soviet Union into the world economy.

Therefore, two concepts are clashing; one is in favor of prompting the USSR to introduce reforms by withholding assistance. We may judge the effectiveness of this approach by the fact that the reforms proceed with difficulty and food has disappeared. Instead, things to be afraid of have appeared. The essence of the other concept is to get perestroyka going through joint efforts. As I see it, the G. Bush administration is now drifting somewhere between these positions. In any event, Western aid will only play a role when we untie our own hands and learn to live by abiding by the laws of the market. This is precisely what the United States, as well as other Western countries, are trying to prompt us to do.

Northeast Asia

Additional Data on 1983 KAL Shootdown Sought

91UF0348A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Dec 90 Union Edition p 12

[Report by correspondent A. Shalnev: "Seven Years After the Tragedy Over Sakhalin"]

[Text] New York—**THE NEW YORK TIMES reports that four influential U.S. Senators have sent letters to the president of the USSR requesting "help in investigating the secrets which still surround the destruction of the South Korean airliner in September 1983." What happened at that time?**

...Two hundred and sixty nine persons, including a member of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives, died when a passenger airliner of the KAL company, flying the New York-Anchorage (Alaska)-Seoul route, was shot down in USSR air space over Sakhalin by missiles from a Soviet fighter.

Have fragments of the aircraft, which fell into the sea, and remains of the passengers been found? The families of the deceased still do not know. In fact, as Sen. Bill Bradley writes, it was to some extent in order to ensure the "peace of mind" of the families that the American lawmakers addressed the president of the USSR. They want the Soviet Union to make public the results of the inquiry—if such was conducted—into the circumstances of the destruction of the aircraft and, most importantly, information as to whether remains and fragments have been found.

THE NEW YORK TIMES recalls that on 26 September 1983 Soviet representatives handed American and Japanese representatives (we wanted no dealings with the South Koreans at that time) 76 various items picked up in the sea and coastal waters, including seat cushions from the aircraft, oxygen masks, a life jacket, and a pair of pants.

The senators' letters (besides Bradley, Edward Kennedy, Sam Nunn and Carl Levin also wrote to Mikhail Gorbachev) were written after the lawmakers had for several months attempted to obtain assistance from the American authorities in ascertaining what happened over seven years ago. As far as it can be understood, these attempts were unsuccessful. But neither has there been as yet any reply to their letters, one of which was sent to Moscow in August, the other in November.

The Senators were seeking, specifically, from the American authorities answers to the following questions: Why was the aircraft's departure from its flight path not picked up by civilian air traffic controllers, who could have warned the crew of this? Why did the U.S. Government not impound the transcripts made by two USAF radar installations on the west coast of Alaska? These tapes were ultimately erased.... The Senators sharply criticized the Federal Aviation Administration and the State Department for the latter taking so long to respond to inquiries.

Meanwhile a report appeared in a recent issue of the weekly U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT which observed, citing "well-informed sources on the Soviet island of Sakhalin," that the "black box" from the aircraft making flight 007 on the night of 31 August 1983 was, for all that, found by the Soviet authorities. The information which the "box" contains should help a comprehension of the circumstances of the tragedy.

If Sakhalin sources are prepared to speak—albeit anonymously—with the American press, they could, evidently, have something to say to the Soviet press also.

For my own part, I would add just this. Some time ago I received a letter from James Oberg. This name is known to IZVESTIYA readers: Oberg, a NASA expert, wrote the book "Unearthing Soviet Catastrophes," which collates and analyzes various extraordinary happenings which have occurred in our country, but which have almost always been concealed from the Soviet people.

But some of what James Oberg wrote about has never been a secret in the West: neither to the special services nor the ordinary man in the street. Time goes by. The secrecy situation is changing in the USSR also. But not as quickly as we might like, and much is inaccessible to us, as before. Our departments are, as before, not disposed to talk candidly with reporters.

The letter which I received from Oberg concerns the tragedy over the Sea of Okhotsk. As the American expert writes, the material reprinted by Soviet newspapers from foreign publications puts the emphasis exclusively on one version, on one theory—that of an espionage conspiracy. All other versions are simply ignored. Which is wrong. In addition, Oberg adds, many of the Western experts whom your press quotes most often "are not held in all that high regard by true specialists—they understand little of aviation, radar systems, and so forth."

I particularly have a special relationship with this tragic event because I had to plunge head first into the wild orgy of propaganda passions which erupted as of the actual moment that George Shultz, then U.S. secretary of state, publicly, before the world, accused the Soviet Union of the destruction of the Korean airliner. As a White House correspondent, I attended at that time a multitude of briefings given by top administration officials, throwing reporters heaps of facts and figures, to which for a long time Moscow preferred to respond with the simple formula: "The aircraft was headed in the direction of the Sea of Japan...."

Last February I flew from New York to Seoul, flew in an aircraft of Korean Air, as the former KAL is now called, and flew by almost the same route which KAL-007 must have followed. My thoughts involuntarily returned to that tragic day. In the eyes of millions of people we became at that time barbarians—not only and not so much because we condemned to death 269 persons but also because we denied this in every possible way. When denial was no longer possible, we did not deem it necessary to make even the simplest apologies to the families of the deceased.

Nor, to my understanding, have we done so yet.

There is something else we have not done either: We have not responded to the mass of questions, to which there has been no answer for seven years now. The doubts which many experts entertain in respect of the "espionage conspiracy" version have not been dispelled. Incontestable proof that we were 100 percent right to act as we did that night has not been provided. But nor have we acknowledged that we were wrong....

It is hard for me, for example, to understand why we have not made public the full stenographic account of the conversations between the pilots of the fighter-interceptors and ground control, that same stenographic account which a few days after the event was distributed in the United Nations—in Russian and English—by the U.S. delegation.

James Oberg comments on some of the key arguments employed by supporters of the "espionage conspiracy" theory. The arguments include the following:

"The airliner could not have strayed so far off course by accident." It could have perfectly well, after all, approximately a year after the KAL-007 catastrophe a charter aircraft of South Pacific Islands Airways strayed more than 500 miles off course and was headed directly toward the Soviet Union.

"There were on board KAL-007 several extraneous crew members." These, Oberg says, were members of the crew of the previous flight returning home to Seoul (I can bear witness on this score: When I myself was flying to Seoul, part of the compartment between economy and "business" class was filled with people wearing the uniforms

of the airline. They had nothing to do with my flight but were merely flying back, having been replaced in New York);

"The Soviet pilots mistook the South Korean aircraft for an American RS-135 reconnaissance plane." If this is so, Oberg believes, this is testimony to incompetence: The KAL-007 would be moving at far greater speed on radar than a conventional RS-135; in addition, it would be flying along a straight line, whereas the RS-135 usually describes an "eight";

"The Soviet pilots repeatedly called KAL-007 on 121.5 megahertz, but obtained no response." No one, the NASA specialist says, heard these calls, although there were other aircraft within hearing range, and, besides, the Soviet side has failed to make public the transcript of the presumed conversations confirming this.

I am not prepared to either support or take issue with Oberg in his counterarguments: for this one needs to be a specialist. But I agree entirely that if there is information which would make it possible to throw light on what happened, it should be made public. If only so that we might learn lessons which could help prevent a repetition of such a tragedy—in our country or anywhere else. I am almost convinced that such information exists, that it is being concealed by no means because its declassification would seriously jeopardize the interests of our national security. It cannot be ruled out that the information, were it to become public property, would show that we made a monstrous mistake.

But we could, most likely, permit ourselves to acknowledge it seven years on. As James Oberg writes in his letter, "if we have already acknowledged Katyn...."

Of course, we should apologize.

From the editors: Some time after the tragedy our correspondent Andrey Illesh was on an assignment on Sakhalin. He also spent some time at the military airfield in the south of the island ("combined" with the civilian airport, incidentally). It was from here that the Sukhoi fighters took off to destroy the Korean Boeing....

It simply did not seem possible to conduct a journalistic investigation on such a delicate matter at that time. The reporter did manage to familiarize himself with a number of documentary photographs (allegedly), which depicted a mass of things taken (again, allegedly) from this Boeing. He also managed to obtain the acknowledgment of certain officials that specialists—Navy men—had found the giant aircraft in the Sea of Japan. In addition, submariners (military also) had gone to the bottom and had "clambered" all over KAL-007 top to bottom. This was not that hard to do technically: According to the accounts, the aircraft is lying right off the coast of the island of Moneron at a depth of several dozen meters.

The rank and also the positions held by the people who gave our correspondent this information militate against us doubting its authenticity. Later, in Moscow, we obtained indirect confirmation of the Sakhalin "version." We have in our possession also the so-called "French version," and our correspondent has carried out his own research in Tokyo.... But all the details may only be published after they have been thoroughly checked and rechecked. Unfortunately, doing this before today has been extremely difficult: No official organization will confirm, but nor will it refute the facts....

Perhaps this article will make it possible to clear away the fog which has for seven years hung over the tragedy, and the editorial office will be able to publish official material which the "competent authorities" undoubtedly have?

Deputy Premier Arrives in ROK For Trade Talks

LD1601174491 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] A high-ranking Soviet delegation, led by deputy prime minister Yuriy Maslyukov, arrived in South Korea on Wednesday to discuss ways to increase economic cooperation between the two nations. Foreign Ministry officials in Seoul said South Korea is likely to offer from $2.5-3.5 billion worth of economic aid and loans to the Soviet Union during two-day talks starting in Seoul on Thursday. The talks would cover a wide range of topics, including trade and fishery cooperation, the transfer of technology, and expansion of investments. The Soviet deputy prime minister, who is accompanied by 19 officials, will also meet president No Tae-u and Economic Planning Board Minister Lee Seung Yun, and tour industrial sites during his week-long stay.

Seoul and Moscow ended decades of hostility last September by establishing full diplomatic ties. Trade between the two countries totalled $1 billion last year, and South Korean officials have predicted levels of up to $10 billion within five years.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Statement on Gulf War Initiation

LD1701101791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0936 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Statement by President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—"recorded this morning"]

[Text] Comrades, war broke out last night in the Persian Gulf zone. U.S. Armed Forces, together with military units from Great Britain, Saudi Arabia, and other states have delivered strikes at military and some industrial facilities of Iraq and at the positions of the Iraqi Armed Forces.

This tragic turn of events was provoked by the Iraqi leadership's refusal to fulfill the demands of the world community and to withdraw its troops from Kuwait.

From the very outset of the Iraqi aggression, the Soviet Union has done everything incumbent upon it to resolve this acute international conflict by peaceful means. Until the very last minute, we undertook vigorous efforts with the object of preventing war and restoring independence to Kuwait by political means.

Having received a report about the decision that had been made by U.S. Secretary of State Baker approximately one hour before the commencement of military actions, I immediately proposed to President Bush that additional steps be taken through direct contact with Saddam Husayn to achieve an immediate announcement by him of the withdrawal of his troops from Kuwait. At the same time, I instructed our ambassador in Baghdad to contact the president of Iraq and tell him of my appeal to George Bush, stressing the need in the interests of peace in the region that he should state his willingness to leave Kuwait.

That would make it possible to halt the war and to spare Iraq grave losses and destruction. I expressed the hope that, guided by the highest interests of his own people and the world community, Saddam Husayn would agree to this, the only life-saving step. Tonight we appealed to the leadership of a number of influential countries, among them France, China, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and India, and the heads of most of the Arab states to take joint and parallel steps to localize the conflict and to prevent its dangerous escalation.

Aware of the grave consequences for the Arab peoples, for the American people, and the whole international situation, with which a war involving an immense mass of troops and modern military equipment is fraught, we express profound regret that it proved impossible to avoid a military clash, although I once again emphasize that we have done everything conceivable to settle the conflict by non-military means.

I wish to inform you that there are no casualties among the Soviet people now in Iraq.

The Soviet people can be certain that the country's leadership will take all measures for the speediest ending of the war and the restoration of peace in cooperation with other countries and the United Nations Organization.

Officials Say 112 Citizens Still in Iraq

LD1701121891 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—There were 112 Soviet nationals in Iraq at the start of allied military activities against that country, Foreign Ministry officials told TASS.

This included 34 specialists who volunteered to remain in Iraq to help mothball various equipment there.

President Mikhail Gorbachev said on national television today that none of the Soviet nationals in Iraq has been injured in the hostilities.

The Soviet people in Iraq are based in a safe location away from military and industrial facilities and every measure has been adopted to ensure their security, Foreign Ministry officials told TASS.

Official Reactions to War in Gulf Reported

Belonogov Gives Briefing

LD1701143191 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet Union did everything possible to avert a military solution to the Gulf crisis, Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov told a news briefing here today.

Commenting on President Mikhail Gorbachev's televised statement on the Gulf war earlier in the day, he pointed out his words that Moscow "has done everything conceivable to avert a military conflict".

Belonogov said that immediately after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, efforts got under way to persuade the Iraqi leadership to change their position and meet the international community's demand for troop withdrawal from Kuwait.

Presidential press secretary Vitaliy Ignatenko told the same briefing that Gorbachev's first response to the news about the impending start of a military operation against Iraq was addressing U.S. President George Bush and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn last night.

Two telephone conversations also took place between Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and his U.S. counterpart James Baker, Ignatenko said.

Top Soviet leaders, including President Gorbachev, got together in the Kremlin right after the outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf to monitor the crisis and "are continuing this work at the moment", he revealed.

In addition to Gorbachev, the group included Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev, Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov, Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, Valentin Falin, Yevgeniy Primakov and others.

Belonogov stressed the priority need to prevent the Gulf war from gaining in scope. He said: "It is essential to wrap up the hostilities as soon as possible."

Among other things, Belonogov called attention to the positions of such countries as Israel, Iran, Yemen and Turkey, which are not participating in the conflict.

Commenting on the Israeli position, he said: "If Israel is dragged into this conflict, this could lend the military confrontation a different quality. This is why one should not but welcome the Israeli position of non-involvement."

Belonogov expressed satisfaction with the fact that Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal today reiterated that his country would not open a "second front" against Iraq and would not take part in the military conflict unless attacked itself.

The Soviet diplomat voiced hope that "nothing will provoke Turkey to move towards getting involved in the military clash".

He commended "the restrained, reasonable stand of Iran, which, its statesmen have said repeatedly, will not take part in the military conflict if it flares up".

"Yemen recently notified us of a similar position," Belonogov said.

Asked about the possibility of Soviet troops being sent to the Gulf, Ignatenko answered in the negative. "this issue has been decided at a session of the Supreme Soviet legislature, and there are no changes," he said.

But he confirmed that Soviet Armed Forces were alerted after the start of the conflict.

Belonogov added that the fact that troops on the southern Soviet borders were put on red alert is "absolutely unrelated" to the situation in central Asian republics and explained only by the Gulf crisis.

"Soviet frontiers lie very close to the conflict zone. There have been repeated reports about chemical and bacteriological weapons and the ecological consequences of a war in that region if oil pipelines are blown up.

"This is why we naturally have to show vigilance and take this kind of precaution," Belonogov said.

Asked if the Soviet Union believes it has been given timely warning of the start of hostilities, he replied: "Naturally enough, we appreciate that the United States notified the Soviet Union about the start of the operation in advance. But we would evidently have had it much easier and simpler if this had been a bit earlier."

In reply to another question, Belonogov said: "We did not have any moral right to disclose to anyone the information we confidentially received from the Americans."

He said also that the Soviet Union "had no contacts with Israel before the start of the hostilities".

He said that in his first telephone conversation with Baker last night he insisted on the Soviet Union being given the last chance to persuade Saddam Hussein to "make a choice in favour of peace and announce the start of a troop withdrawal".

The Soviet ambassador in Baghdad failed to reach the Iraqi president before the allied attack, however. "He went to the Iraqi Foreign Ministry in the morning, but by then the conflict was already under way. In addition, the telephone link to the Soviet Embassy was cut for an unknown reason right after the start of the hostilities,' Belonogov said.

Despite the failure of that "sincere attempt to reason with Husayn", the Soviet Union will continue acting along these lines, he added.

Belonogov said it depends on those in charge of the allied operation against Iraq when the military activities will stop. He added, however, that "if the Iraqi leadership declares, now or after several hours, that it will comply with U.N. Security Council resolutions within the shortest possible time, this will be enough grounds for halting the military operations".

Belonogov said the Soviet Union would prefer an early end to the hostilities because continued fighting would mean heavier loss of life.

Defense Ministry Expects 'Escalation'

LD1701130291 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—A Soviet Defence Ministry spokesman today predicted an escalation of fighting in the Gulf.

Speaking in a TASS interview, Lieutenant-General Hermann Starodubov described the military operation in the Gulf as a "full-scale use of multinational Armed Forces to fulfill planned tasks to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi troops.

He said that according to information available to the ministry, the allied forces delivered conventional bomb and missile strikes to Baghdad airfields, command centres, communications facilities, electric power stations, Saddam Husayn's palace, the Rashid Salam research centre, and a thermal power station. The Missouri and Wisconsin battleships fired Tomahawk missiles.

Starodubov said the extent of damage is being assessed.

Foreign Ministry Official Voices Regret

LD1701073591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan—(TASS)—Soviet and world public learned with great regret about the start of armed actions in the Persian Gulf region, a high-ranking staffer of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated this morning to a TASS correspondent.

The whole world hoped that the Iraqi leaders would show common sense and realism, and listen to the voice of the world community expressed in the well-known

resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, and that Iraq would not seek to enjoy the fruits of its aggression of 2 August against Kuwait, he pointed out. What is now taking place in the region evokes feelings of the most profound regret, the diplomat continued. Iraq and other peoples of the region are paying an excessively high price for the reckless actions of its leadership. It remains to be hoped that a sense of reality and common sense will nevertheless prevail among the Iraqi leaders and that peace will be restored in the Persian Gulf, he stressed in conclusion.

UN Envoy Identifies Hopes

LD1701113991 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] In New York the Soviet permanent representative at the United Nations, Yuliy Vorontsov, expressed hope that the military operation by the allied forces against the Iraqi troops is aimed at liberating Kuwait and not at destroying Iraq.

Resort to Force in Gulf Proved 'Inevitable'

LD1701135191 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—What everyone feared has begun. A Gulf war has now become a reality. The first data reaching here say that the main targets in Iraq—rocket launchers, command posts, military airfields, plants for the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and a number of facilities such as the buildings of key ministries, the Ba'th Party, and places of residence where Iraqi President Saddam Husayn could stay—were smashed.

It must be emphasised that, according to a number of reports, Iraqi aircraft were almost entirely put out of action. The start of military operations shook up the kaleidoscope of the region overnight. We shall not try to guess how events will develop. It is more important to touch upon the key elements of the current situation, or, to be more exact, on what it can bring in the future.

The switch-over to solving the Gulf crisis by force cannot but give rise to regret. Eighteen thousand tonnes of bombs were released over the Iraqi capital during the first wave of bombardment alone.

Notwithstanding the "surgically clean" way of using most up-to-date types of weapons, some of them never used anywhere before, in bombing large cities, casualties among the civilian population are inevitable.

The Iraqi leadership, which has been adhering to a confrontational policy throughout the past five months, could not fail to know that. By sowing wind, Saddam Husayn is now literally reaping a "desert storm" as the allied military action is code-named.

Not only the fate of the regime but also the destiny of the Iraqi people are at stake now. It is gratifying that the White House, it seems, takes this into account.

Thomas Pickering, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, stated that military operations would be discontinued provided Iraq withdraws from Kuwait unconditionally, fully and completely. It is now up to Saddam to make the choice.

Unfortunately, reports from Baghdad do not inspire optimism. The Iraqi leader stated that the "attempt to crush Iraq ended in failure" and that Baghdad would not give up its "rights" to Kuwait.

It is unknown what Baghdad actually counts upon in the current situation. Such an attitude can only prolong the agony of the regime and is fraught with tremendous and senseless casualties.

The development of events in the region during the very first hours following the start of military operations leads to the conviction that in future potential aggressors would think thrice before resorting to such ventures.

The world order based on new political thinking rests on a peaceful settlement of conflicts arising in the world. Resorting to force is an enforced and extremely undesirable step which proved inevitable in Gulf conflict conditions.

One would like to urge the Iraqi leadership once again to listen to the voice of reason. It will be better for Iraq and for the entire world community.

Soviet Public Said To Favor Halting War

LD1701100991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—It is with a feeling of deep bitterness and regret that the world has learned that in spite of all the efforts by healthy forces to achieve a political resolution of the situation in the Persian Gulf, war has broken out, stated Samandar Kalandarov, the senior secretary of the Soviet committee for solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa. There is no such thing as a "sterile war". As a result of military action in the region, it is peaceful people who suffer in the first place: old people, women, and children. The consequences of what is going on there are impossible to predict, he explained.

Soviet public opinion, emphasized Samandar Kalandarov in conclusion, is in favor of the speedy halting of military action in the Persian Gulf, and is in favor of new, urgent steps toward the resolution of the conflict by peaceful means.

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Soviet Stance

PM1601113491 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 13-14 Jan 91, p 3

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, adviser to President Gorbachev, by unattributed IAN correspondent; place and date not given: "Marshal Akhromeyev on Moscow's Foreign Policy: USSR Favors Global and All-European Security System"]

[Text] What are the chances of a peaceful solution to avert a war in the Gulf? What will happen in the USSR if the recourse to force becomes inevitable? These questions were answered by Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev, a Gorbachev adviser.

[AVANTI!] Do you believe there are still chances for a peaceful solution of the crisis?

[Akhromeyev] I believe chances do remain. Both sides are fully aware that the unleashing of a war in this region is very dangerous both to themselves and to the situation worldwide.

The sides involved cannot [as published] use all the possibilities that exist for a peaceful solution of the conflict.

At the same time, it is quite clear that the United States has prepared in earnest for a war on Iraq. This is shown by the massive concentration of powerful American ships, Air Forces, and troops. Such decisions are not adopted with the sole aim of putting pressures on your enemy. This means that the threat of the start of military operations is very real, too.

[AVANTI!] If the international community is forced to resort to a military solution of the problem, what repercussions will this have on the Soviet Union, in view of the fact that Iraq is only a few hundred kilometers away from the USSR's southern border.

[Akhromeyev] If war breaks out, it will affect everyone, including our country. It will jeopardize not only world peace but soon also the economy of every country and current international economic relations. The extraction and transportation of oil from that region to all the countries of the world will suddenly collapse or cease entirely. This aspect of the conflict will have a heavy impact on the international financial system.

You must also keep in mind that the military operations may not be confined to the Iraq-Saudi Arabia-Kuwait area. Israel, too, is very likely to join the conflict in one way or another. It is not difficult to imagine what the Arab countries' response would be in that case, and what the consequences would be. It is possible that the other states on whose territory NATO's military and Air Forces are deployed could also join the conflict. These countries are in our immediate vicinity! This is why I believe that if war were to break out, it would be extremely dangerous for the Soviet Union, too.

It is easy to unleash a war, but nobody can predict accurately how and when it will end. It is possible that the American troops will inflict a defeat on the Iraqi Army, inasmuch as they enjoy an overwhelming superiority in air and naval forces. But after that, would the war end or would it assume a completely different and unpredictable character? It is unlikely that anyone can answer this question with certainty.

[AVANTI!] Will the Soviet Union take part in the armed conflict if it begins? Its official position denies it.

[Akhromeyev] In his recent address to the Fourth Congress of Peoples' Deputies, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze stated very clearly that the Soviet Government has no plan to land troops in the Gulf, nor is it planned to send a single soldier out to the area. This was also reaffirmed in the document approved by the Fourth Congress of Peoples' Deputies.

The Soviet Union does not intend to take part with its troops in an armed conflict in the Middle East. The USSR's entire policy on this matter ever since August last year has hinged on this point.

[AVANTI!] But the USSR, too, has condemned Saddam.

[Akhromeyev] We have condemned, and still condemn, Iraq's aggression against Kuwait; and we have worked, and are still working, for an end to this aggression and the elimination of its effects. But we have been and remain opposed to a military solution of the conflict. I believe that the measures for putting political, economic, and other kinds of pressure on Iraq, on that aggressor nation, have not yet been exhausted.

[AVANTI!] The Soviet Union voted for and accepted 15 January as the deadline for Iraq's implementation of the UN resolution.

[Akhromeyev] Yes, but this does not mean that the USSR is in favor of the outbreak of a conflict. We are still working to avert war.

[AVANTI!] How do you, personally, judge Soviet policy on the solution of the Gulf crisis?

[Akhromeyev] I believe that the USSR's policy on the Middle East crisis is correct. Since the new Soviet foreign policy, in the past five years there has been a considerable change both in the international situation and in the various countries' relations with the USSR: Soviet-American relations have improved considerably, and the possibility has emerged of creating a global security system that will enable the permanent members of the UN Security Council act in a coordinated fashion if instances of aggression occur.

Our position on Iraq's aggression against Kuwait stems logically from our overall policy directed toward creating a common global and all-European collective security system.

Churkin's Gulf Policy Defense Rebutted

91UF0320A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Stremoukhov, candidate of pedagogical sciences, docent: "On Good and Evil With Embarrassment and Pity"]

[Text] Leningrad—When I read the opinion of USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] official V. Churkin, "What Is the Difference Between Good and Evil" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 13 Dec 1990), I experienced a complex feeling—embarrassment, rejection of the author's position, and pity for him.

Why a feeling of embarrassment? Because the worker was defending the honor of the shiny uniform of his department and his superior, and this means he had to go against the real state of affairs, against the expanding criticism of the MFA.

Why a feeling of pity? Because I am sure that V. Churkin became embarrassed as soon as he read in the newspaper his written lesson with the exposition of the "position of the Soviet of the Union," directed toward a group of worthy people who had expressed their own opinion about the situation in the Persian Gulf, an opinion that was unacceptable to the leadership of the MFA. He will blame himself even more if, God forbid, in the middle of January a situation arises that requires the utilization of "all necessary means." One must add to the suffering citizens of Kuwait the thousands of innocent women and children and also the suffering Soviet people.

Now why do I not accept V. Churkin's opinion that he expressed regarding the newspaper statements of E. Volodin, A. Vashchenko, and V. Belov.

In the first place, V. Churkin's opinion, as distinct from those of the authors he criticized, is not really an opinion. He adds nothing new to what the reader already knows from statements in the press and from E.A. Shevardnadze's interview on the events in the Persian Gulf.

In the second place, the tone of his monologue is that of departmental instructions. He once again tries to show that "every cobbler should stick to his last," that only the MFA can know what to decide and what to do.... History is repeating itself. We, the people, are being drawn into a regular cataclysm, and we "must have no doubts." The doubters are straightened out. How else can we perceive the caustic remark addressed to E. Volodin: "...why was it necessary for the venerable author, while clearly denying the essence of the problem, to get on the nerves of the reader...."; V. Belov: "How is it possible to suffer from such striking moral color-blindness?"; and A. Vashchenko: "the surprisingly successful author".... It is an old device—in the absence of real arguments, people must use insulting attacks in order to upset the opponent's psychological balance.

In the third place, V. Churkin writes: "...One of the main achievements of the foreign policy of perestroyka has been that the focus has been placed on morality...." V. Belov supposedly does not see this because of his color-blindness. If we are to think this way, then we have millions who are "morally color-blind" in addition to V. Belov. Proof of this is the Appeal to the USSR President and the USSR Supreme Soviet in Connection With the Military and Political Situation in the Persian Gulf Zone, adopted by the Congress of Russian legislators on 11 December of this year.

Incidentally, about morality. In what category, for example, can one include this real contradiction. In the decree of the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies (1989) "On the Basic Directions of USSR Domestic and Foreign Policy," it is written that in conducting the foreign political course of the Soviet Union "...it is inadmissible to apply force or the threat of force for purposes of achieving any political, economic, or other aims...." But here our country is voting in favor of the decision of the Security Council, which essentially approves the collective aggression against the individual aggressor—Iraq. Commenting on this decision, the Soviet minister explains: "All necessary measures mentioned in the resolution may include various actions that are not necessarily linked to the application of force but, of course, as the most extreme measure, they may include force also. But how is the "extreme" defined?

What about the discussions of V. Churkin, who asserts that the focus of the foreign policy was placed on morality, "and not some special variety of it that is called upon frequently to justify immoral actions, but common human morality, according to which the aggressor remains the aggressor. But what kind of morality are we guided by when we vote in favor of the application of force against Iraq—the aggressor. What kind of morality are we guided by while establishing consular and all other kinds of relations with the aggressor Israel at a time when it is expanding genocide against the Palestinian people and ignoring the decisions of the UN Security Council? Is it moral for a great power to accept widely publicized charity from this aggressor (one of V. Churkin's arguments) at a time when the Palestinians do not have a piece of bread and are deprived of human rights in their country? It seems to me that common human morality pales somewhat here, and shame and disgrace remain! We are being deprived not only of our national pride but also elementary respect from the international community.

In the fourth place, when explaining to us the difference between good and evil, V. Churkin deliberately confuses the concepts and draws questionable historical parallels by blasphemously reminding V. Belov that "Soviet people were waiting for the landing of "American warriors."

Yes, for a long three and a half years, spilling blood, losing millions of lives, and undergoing deprivation and hunger, our people actually held out alone and then

began to conquer the terrible beast—German fascism. Only when the outcome of the war became clear did they open up a second front. It would not be out of place to remind the diplomat of this. Moreover, the opening of the second front was motivated not only by human feelings toward the USSR, but also by the national interests of the United States and Britain. But what national interests of the USSR justify the proposed application of force against Iraq by the United States and other states? What about the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and Iraq? After all, it does not seem to have been denounced yet. Are we not touching upon certain aspects of "common human morality" here...?

In a word, it seems to me that the statement of the highly placed bureaucrat from the MFA had the goal not so much of clarifying USSR policy in the Persian Gulf zone as of justifying the activity of our leaders and removing it from the threat of criticism. Is this for the good?

Alleged 'Virus' in Iraq's French Weapons Noted

91UF0339A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Delayed-Action Bombs"]

[Text] Paris—On the eve of the expiration of the UN ultimatum to Iraq sensational reports have appeared in the Paris press to the effect that France has adopted precautionary measures to avoid "unpleasant surprises" in the event of war. The essence of these reports is that its military hardware supplied to Baghdad was, by all accounts, preliminarily "infected" with a computer virus. This means that the radars of the Thomson Company, Mirage fighters and Exocet missiles activated by electronics will malfunction at the commencement of combat operations.

Together with the Soviet Union, France was a principal supplier of arms to Iraq. Four of its leading companies—Aerospatiale, Dassault, Thomson, and Matra—furnished Baghdad with the latest military equipment. According to the newspaper LIBERATION, however, a virus was introduced to its computer components—it is also being called here a "safety device" which could at the right moment block the computers.

Of course, none of the arms dealers would ever admit that his equipment is "infected" with a fatal disease. Representatives of the special services are declining comment on these reports also. What, however, is the opinion of engineers and mathematicians on this score?

One can never be sure that there is no virus in a computer, says a Dassault specialist in the security of information systems, for "microbes" could take shelter in any computer. It is not hard to "activate" such a virus, and then it would spread to other computers. As a result, this specialist continues, one fine day the Iraqis will discover malfunctions in their equipment, but will not understand what is going on. In peacetime they would turn to the designers for assistance, but now they are deprived of such an opportunity.

It happens, engineers acknowledge, that firms sometimes specially introduce a virus for purely commercial purposes: The machines constantly malfunction, and big money has to be paid for the repairs—to that same supplier firm.

An expert unwilling to give his name maintains in LIBERATION that all governments, French, British, American, or Russian, take steps to ensure that the arms which they sell are not subsequently targeted on their countries. They usually have resources allowing them to block any information system.

If the manipulation of a virus is attended by certain difficulties, the classical electronic means of "suppression" have been brought to a state of perfection. They make it possible to knock missiles off course, neutralize radar systems and so forth. For this reason the French firms have kept the "keys" to the electronics with which all the equipment supplied to Iraq is furnished.

We arms dealers are by no means madmen, France's Defense Ministry declares: All contracts for supplies of arms necessarily pass through government departments. These departments require the industrialists to maintain control over the systems, never to furnish the customers with all the information, and so forth.

If a war begins, the French, theoretically at least, will have countersystems making it possible to protect themselves against their own weapons. We are in a position, a Defense Ministry spokesman says, to put the Iraqi Army's radars and communications systems out of action. Special black boxes, which will force Exocet missiles off course, have been installed on the masts of our ships, he says. Of course, we would not be able to handle all our missiles, of which we have sold Iraq too many. Thus there is no way of countering laser-guided missiles if the aircraft fitted with them flies in hedge-hopping fashion.

The authorities today regret that they engaged in massive supplies of weapons to Baghdad for many years. This was a political decision, the Foreign Ministry acknowledges. At that time, diplomats say, we were endeavoring to finance the modernization of our Army with the aid of exports of combat equipment. But when the Iraqis told Thomson engineers that all these arms would one day be used to liquidate Israel, we pretended that we did not hear.

At the present time, U.S.and other Western companies are working on how to use the computer virus as a weapon. French engineers are also engaged in the creation of "delayed-action bombs" for computers. They, in particular, will be installed in computers with which radar systems are equipped. Upon receiving a particular signal, such "bombs" would explode and destroy the entire data system.

The menacing computer virus, LIBERATION writes, is becoming a Trojan horse at the service of states which, like France, sell weapons throughout the world. At the same time, neither can it be ruled out that the publication of material on this "ailment"—abetted by the Defense Ministry—is being undertaken for disinformation purposes. Its task is to evoke doubt in the Iraqi regime in the reliability of its arsenals.

East Europe

Problems Beset Troop Withdrawals From East Europe

LD1501224391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent V. Mostovoy in Berlin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] On 31 December 1995 the last Soviet soldier will leave the countries of East Europe. This position of the Soviet Government is unchangeable and firm. Ahead there lies great and intensive work in moving the Soviet troops back home across the territories of neighboring states. According to Klaczynski, press spokesman of the Polish Republic's Foreign Affairs Ministry, the withdrawal of troops from Poland should start earlier than the transit of military units from the territory of the former GDR. Poland's position is that Soviet troops should leave Poland by the end of this year. At present, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet is on a working visit to places where Soviet troops are stationed on the territory of the former GDR. A report from Berlin.

[Mostovoy] The Federal Republic of Germany and the Western Group of Forces are the final destination of this representative delegation—the final and probably the most complex, too. After all, the number of troops stationed on the territory of the former GDR exceeds by several times the contingents in Poland, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia. The batch of agreements with Germany, signed several months ago, determines not only the relations between our two countries but also, to a large extent, the situation on the European continent. Questions connected with the withdrawal of the western group of forces occupy a significant place in the state documents. In the immediate future the batch of agreements between the USSR and the FRG should be ratified by our legislature. In view of the not inconsiderable problems—and in some regions even a certain degree of tension the withdrawal of military units from abroad—we can suppose that the adoption of these agreements will not be a simple and formal thing. After all, the provisions clearly formulated on paper look much more complex in real life. The members of the Soviet delegation could learn about this, too, during their meetings at Soviet garrisons, in discussions with legislators of individual FRG lands, with Bundestag deputies in Bonn, and at a news conference with newsmen.

Life throws up new problems literally every day. From the first days of January, Poland sharply increased the charges for transporting military units across its territory. Now events in Lithuania are exerting their influence, and this has not made the negotiations easier.

Much work has been done during this trip of many days, and the early results of it are summed up by the delegation leader, Leonid Vasilyevich Sharin.

[Sharin] We should make every effort to create at least the minimal conditions for the people who are being moved—and there are a great many of them—to those parts of the Soviet Union where the troops are being relocated.

The second conclusion, to my mind, a very important one, which already comes to mind today, is that the Ministry of Defense alone cannot deal with such a complex problem. I would even say that the responsible and main, let us say, organizer of this process should be people nominated by the government or perhaps even by the USSR Supreme Soviet or by the president.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Approves 17 Mar Referendum

LD1601161391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1449 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Today at a joint session of the chambers the USSR Supreme Soviet, a decision was adopted on the organization and measures to provide for the holding of a Union-wide referendum on preserving the Soviet Union as a federation of states with equal rights. The referendum will be held throughout the country's territory on 17 March 1991.

The decision to hold such a referendum was adopted at the end of December by the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the suggestion of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The following wording will be included in the ballot paper for the secret vote: "Do you consider necessary the preservation of the USSR as a renewed federation of sovereign republics with equal rights in which the rights and freedoms of an individual of any nationality would be fully guaranteed?" A choice of two replies is provided: "Yes" or "No".

The results of the ballot will be determined according to the Union as a whole, taking into consideration the results of the voting for each republic separately.

In accordance with the USSR law "On a nationwide ballot of the USSR," the decision adopted by means of the USSR referendum is final. It is binding on the whole territory of the Soviet Union and may be rescinded or altered only by means of a new referendum.

According to estimates, the cost of conducting this referendum will amount to over R100 million.

Decision on Gulf Development Issued

LD1601195691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1914 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and signed by A. Lukyanov, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—We transmit the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf region," which was adopted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session today:

"The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

"1. To take cognizance of the information of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on recent events connected with the crisis in the Persian Gulf and of the steps taken by the USSR Government aimed at solving the crisis by political means.

"2. The USSR Supreme Soviet calls upon all the sides involved in the conflict to continue the search for a political solution to the problem and to support the initiative of the UN secretary general of 15 January 1991 in this connection, which is directed toward preventing a war in the Persian Gulf region, and which envisages that, following a solution to the present crisis, all efforts will be undertaken for a comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestinian problem.

"3. The USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, with the participation of representatives of the interested committees and commissions of the chambers, is to set up a permanent deputies' group to monitor the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone.

"[Signed] A. Lukyanov
"Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet."

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1557 GMT on 16 January reports the adoption of this decision and gives the following vote result: "Three-hundred-and-fourteen deputies voted in favor of adopting the resolution, six were against, and 20 abstained."]

Belonogov on Iraqi Attitude to Use of Force

LD1601191991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on speech by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Belonogov at the 16 January USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow; from the "Parliamentary Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] At 0800 [0500 GMT] today, the interval granted to Iraq for the voluntary withdraw of its troops from Kuwait expired. A report by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Belonogov was heard in connection with this.

[Belonogov] From information reaching us, including in meetings with Sadaam Husayn, one gains the impression that the Iraqi leadership does not fully believe in the real intent of the U.S. Administration and other members of the coalition to resort to force. Baghdad still appears to think that all statements by U.S. leaders on the subject do not go beyond the bounds of psychological warfare and attempts to intimidate Iraq and exert pressure on it. We are certain that that is a dangerous delusion.

For our part, our side is doing everything to make it perfectly clear to the Iraqi leadership of the real situation. The Soviet side is being extremely honest and frank in contacts with the Iraqis—and, I will add, constructive. Saddam Husayn has been told that we have no doubts about the full combat readiness of the Americans, who can, at any moment after 15 January, make the decision to use force. That would mean a catastrophe, in the first place for Iraq and the Iraqi people.

We have asked Sadaam Husayn not to let slip the opportunities for preserving peace in the region, and we have stated bluntly that if Iraqi troops are withdrawn from Kuwait, no one will attack Iraq. Its security will be guaranteed; it will be able to preserve its economic and other potential, and, after withdrawal from Kuwait, the way will be open for setting in motion a mechanism for a Near East settlement. This position of the Soviet leadership has been clearly brought to the cognizance of the leadership in Iraq.

Unfortunately, our representatives who visited Baghdad, after spending many hours in conversations with Iraqi leaders, did not once hear from them even a promise to leave Kuwait. Husayn either constantly sidestepped the question or repeated claims about Iraq's supposedly legitimate rights to Kuwait. Nor will you, comrade deputies, find a single word about a withdrawal from Kuwait in the 17-page message that the chairman of the National Assembly of the Republic of Iraq addressed to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov in response to the decision of the Fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The USSR Foreign Ministry received the message from the Iraqi Embassy on 14 January and conveyed it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov] I can distribute it, comrades. It only contains justifications to the effect that Kuwait belongs to Iraq. That is all.

[Belonogov] On the other hand, in Baghdad the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today, bellicose rhetoric is in full swing, and threats are being made to attack neighboring countries, destroy oilfields, and use chemical weapons.

I would like to stress that the Soviet side was not just actively dealing with the Iraqis but was also, in every possible way, encouraging others to do so. As you know, a number of high-ranking delegations have recently visited Baghdad; however, nobody—neither Algerian president Bendjedid; nor Kaunda, the Zambian president; nor al-'Attas, the premier of Yemen, who has just left Baghdad; nor Loncar, the Yugoslav foreign minister; nor other officials—brought any reassuring news.

[Ruvinskiy] Comrade Belonogov confirmed that the Soviet Union is not going to take part in any possible military operations in the Persian Gulf. A discussion based on the results of this report has arisen. The following suggestions were put forward: not to discuss this topic at the sitting and to declare the voting carried out by the Soviet Union on the resolution of the Security Council determining the date of 15 January null and void. Other deputies insisted that this issue should be examined, for it is basically an issue of a third world war. There were suggestions to hold a discussion behind closed doors. Deputies insisted that forecasts should be made with regard to the possible consequences for our country of military actions in the Persian Gulf. It was suggested that the United States and Iraq should be called upon not to let the war happen. In the end it was decided to make certain adjustments in the draft resolution and return to it after the break.

Gorbachev Warned Committee Seeks His Ouster

LD1601183491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by station correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy; from the "Parliamentary Diary" program]

[Text] The [Supreme Soviet] session proceedings were nearing their conclusion. At the end, deputies asked several questions. Deputy Panfilova asked the president to give an explanation of the setting up of national salvation committees. There is information, she said, that a Union-level committee is also being set up to oust the central bodies of power and you personally, Mikhail Sergeyevich. The president replied that he did not have information throwing light on the whole network of these organizations, but in the Baltic Republics they are being created from civil rights committees.

Proposals on Press Causes Stormy Reaction

LD1601174691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 91

[From the "USSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program]

[Text] A joint statement by representatives of the Soyuz group of deputies and the Interregional Group of Deputies was read at the session. It proposed taking under deputies' control the documents on interethnic relations which are broadcast by television for them to be objective. A special group of deputies has been set up. In connection with this the issue of the media's objectivity was raised in general.

USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed his extreme concern about publications in certain organs and proposed that the Supreme Soviet should take under control all mass media. More radical measures were also proposed. This evoked a stormy reaction from the audience. Deputy Igityan noted that freedom of the press is our main gain since 1985. With Comrade Kravchenko's arrival at the State Television and Radio and with the closure of the "Vzglyad" program, television is becoming like a bad collective farm. The Supreme Soviet should deal with the issue. Deputy Petrushenko made a brief statement: Hands off Kravchenko! Deputy Logunov said that Russian publications are prepared to hold a conversation with representatives of the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee and to publish it. Deputy Yaroshinskaya proposed setting up a parliamentary commission on Central Television's work and Deputy Shcherbak proposed holding open legislative hearings on the state of the press, television and radio in the USSR.

Delegation Reports on Visit to Lithuania

LD1601203791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on remarks by Supreme Soviet Deputy Nikolay at 16 January session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow; from the "Parliamentary Diary"—recorded]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] As is known, at the decision of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Council of the Federation, a group of deputies visited Lithuania in order to sort out, on-site, the events that had taken place there. Deputy Dementey spoke on the group's behalf.

[Dementey] In accordance with the decisions of the Council of the Federation and the Soviet of Nationalities, the delegation spent 13, 14, and 15 January [in Lithuania]. The delegation was charged with the task of undertaking necessary efforts aimed at normalizing the situation in Lithuania, finding ways of reconciliation and dialogue between the sides in conflict, and averting any further exacerbation of the situation that has arisen.

Meanwhile, events were developing so rapidly that on the eve of the delegation's arrival bloody excesses with casualties occurred. Tension was mounting in the town, and the threat of a new explosion inevitably entailing even more tragic consequences was emerging. Under those conditions, the delegation immediately started its work with a detailed discussion of the situation that had taken shape in the Republic at the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic. Having ascertained that there were no contacts between the Supreme Soviet and the command of the Vilnius military garrison, at a subsequent meeting with servicemen the delegation reached an accord on establishing liaison between the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic and the garrison's command.

On the same day, by mediation and with the participation of members of the delegation, a meeting between Moteka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Colonel Belous, commandant of the Vilnius garrison, took place. As a result, mutual obligations for maintaining public order in the town, establishing regular contacts, and exchanging information were determined. In the evening of the same day, the population of Vilnius was informed about events and was called upon to keep calm and restraint. After that, those who had gathered at the Supreme Soviet building started to disperse. Subunits of servicemen returned to the garrison. A calm atmosphere prevailed from that time on. There were no gatherings of people or military movements.

On 14 and 15 January, the delegation had numerous meetings with labor collectives, representatives of the intelligentsia, rural residents, and members of the families of garrison servicemen. In the course of those meetings over 120 people spoke. Critical remarks were addressed to the Supreme Soviet and Government of the Lithuanian Republic, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president, and the military command of the USSR Armed Forces. They boiled down to the following, in general: On the one hand, to rejecting the interference into the Lithuanian Republic's internal affairs with regard to the sovereignty and independence that it had declared, and, on the other hand, to protesting against certain legislative acts adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet contradicting the USSR Constitution. Facts of encroaching upon the human rights of representatives of the Russian-speaking population were also cited.

The participation by the military in resolving political problems was condemned. The unobjective coverage of what is happening in Lithuania in the republican and Union mass media was noted.

With a view to easing the tension, establishing mutual trust, and on employing concerted actions when resolving questions that crop up, the delegations organized negotiations between the Cabinet of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic, representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry, and the garrison of the city of Vilnius. The creation of such prerequisites for the normalization of the situation in the Lithuanian Republic has been approvingly received by the Supreme Soviet and Government of Lithuania, by the military command of Soviet Army subunits, and by representatives of the public. This has made it possible to end our delegation's mission and its stay in the republic.

As regards the investigation and the appraisal of the causes that have resulted in fatalities, this comes under the competence of the appropriate bodies, and possibly of parliamentary commissions. The delegation confirms and supports the USSR president's decision, adopted at the request of Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, regarding the appointment of a representative of the USSR Supreme Soviet with regard to continuing the coordination of joint efforts to normalize the situation.

[Ruvinskiy] Cognizance was taken of the commission's information—it was not the subject of discussion. The decision was made to send a commission of deputies to Latvia, and also to Tbilisi and Tskhinvali.

Work is continuing in Lithuania; Deputy Tarazevich has been sent there.

Deputies Demand Airing of Program on Lithuania

LD1601101691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The mourning in Lithuania has been extended through Friday [18 January]. Yesterday evening, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet were able to watch Aleksandr Nevzorov's "600 seconds" program on the events in Lithuania. They demanded that it be shown to the whole USSR. Today, after the "Vremya" program,

Nevzorov's program will be shown on Central Television First Program. Four hundred members of the Supreme Soviet voted for the showing, and 100 times fewer voted against—only four people.

Deputies' Groups Issue Contrasting Statements

LD1601120691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—"Using the power vacuum and the indecision and sluggishness of the center, a number of irresponsible political adventurers and dealers of the shadow economy" have facilitated a crude flouting of human rights and liberties in individual republics and regions. The statement, made by the Coordinating Council of the Soyuz deputies' association, was distributed today at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soyuz all-Union association of deputies of all levels was set up last year. It comprises more than 500 USSR people's deputies, and also deputies of republican and local soviets. Its main aim is the preservation and strengthening of the USSR's federative structure.

The results of the referendum on the preservation of the Union will be the basis for the implementation by the supreme executive power, the USSR president, of "adequate measures in keeping with the Constitution and laws of the USSR, inclusive of the introduction of direct presidential rule," the document notes.

"We insist on a full and comprehensive investigation of all the clashes on ethnic grounds involving human casualties, and on bringing their organizers and inspirers to book," the statement says.

A statement by 34 members of the Interregional Deputies' Group, also distributed at the session today, contains a fundamentally different appraisal of the situation in the country. The deputies who signed it, including Yuriy Afanasyev, Arkadiy Murashev, Yuriy Ryzhov, and Galina Starovoytova, have summoned "all citizens of the country and legally elected bodies of power to unite their efforts and fight the approaching dictatorship that would restore a totalitarian regime."

"Against the background of the worsening socioeconomic crisis, right-wing reactionary forces have moved away from threats and the defamation of the leaders of perestroyka toward the creation of illegal structures aspiring to seize power by force," the statement reads.

It states that Eduard Shevardnadze's warning of approaching dictatorship made at the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in December last year is being corroborated, something demonstrated by "the systematic campaign to stifle glasnost, especially on television and radio, and also the use of the Armed Forces to interfere in the difficult sociopolitical processes in Lithuania."

Regarding the events in Lithuania the members of the Interregional Group called on the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision to give an appraisal of the actions and statements of the internal affairs and defense ministers of the USSR, and also proposed that a special parliamentary commission be set up to investigate and give a political appraisal of the events in the Baltic.

The Interregional Deputies' Group—set up in the summer of 1989—now numbers about 230 USSR people's deputies and adheres to left-wing radical positions.

Supreme Soviet 16 January Session Detailed

LD1601225291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1914 GMT on 16 January carries the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program of recorded excerpts of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 16 January.

The announcer summarizes the morning session proceedings. The Lithuanian question was raised at the morning session. It was decided to show the Nevzorov '600 Seconds' reportage from Vilnius on Central Television. The legislature rejected a decision on presidential rule in Lithuania.

Legislation Committee Chairman Yuriy Kalmykov takes the floor to speak about a draft law on holding a referendum on whether the USSR should remain in its present form. He summarizes the debate on the issue. He suggests a wording of the issue of the referendum. The referendum is absolutely necessary as separatist forces are active in the country and a clear idea of the situation is needed, he says.

A procedure for assessing the results of the referendum is described. The decision adopted as a result of a referendum will be mandatory for all. There is a proposal to hold the referendum on 3 March, but the commission says this date is too soon and suggests 17 March.

The announcer says that heated debate on the referendum followed. Lukyanov proposes working on the document and presenting the results at the evening meeting. He goes on to say that the issue of protecting the vice president and the prime minister should be discussed. Deputy Pivovarov speaks on the issue and a decision is adopted as proposed by the relevant committee.

Deputy Senchagov speaks on the issue of rising prices. We cannot balance demand and supply without subsidies, so we should take another path. When reforming prices, concord of major social groups is required.

Deputy Foreign Minister Belonogov, speaks on the situation in the gulf; Deputies Neyland, Borovikov, Adzhiyev, Petrushenko, Burlatskiy, Borovik and others comment on the subject.

The referendum decision is adopted at the evening session.

Nikolay Dementey takes the floor to report on his to delegation's visit to Lithuania.

Lukyanov asks Dementey whether the issue should be discussed further.

Dementey responds: "I would ask the members of the Supreme Soviet, USSR people's deputies of the USSR, to pay serious attention to everything that is happening because I believe that there has been so much information.

"Well, frankly speaking, the situation [in Lithuania] was on the brink of civil war, and for someone who has not profoundly studied the issue of what is the source, what is the moving force, what is behind of this movement, to stir things up today by offering some views, I would say that we might wreck what we have succeeded in doing by working round the clock with them.

"But I want to tell you one thing: That communications were lacking to such extent that in the course of 11 months not a single leader of the Supreme Soviet or the government met either with public organizations or with the military who are [stationed] on the territory of this city [Vilnius], and we needed to make many efforts to get them to at least to see one another and then start resolving very complicated questiions in order to move the forces back to square one, as they say, to their points of departure. That is why I would request to you instruct that the existing commissions continues work, to work with the procuracy, to work with other [changes thought] and all within their competence. And I think that the Supreme Soviet has the right to call to account everyone when the questions have been studied thoroughly."

Lukyanov says: "What about that, comrades? Perhaps there is sense in what Cormade Dementey says? That is to say, first, to take cognizance of his report and, second, to instruct our comrades, the chairman of the commission for interethnic relations, who are over there, to continue work. Right? And support the efforts which they have made to maintain contacts, to resolve this question by political methods. We shall have whatever the procuracy wil give us."

An unidentified deputy asks for a review of the decision on showing the Nevzorov program. Nishanov takes the floor to read a prepared resolution on the issue: Tarazevich is to be sent to Lithuania for further efforts aimed at normalizing the situation. An unidentified deputy says that any commission should enjoy the trust of both sides, and Tarazevich fits these requirements. Also, he says that Nevzorov's views could be biased.

Nishanov says that Tarazevich's visit to Lithuania has been agreed with Landsbergis. Voting on taking cognizance of Dementey's report and sending Tarazevich follows and is adopted. Nishanov reads a list of eight deputies to go to Latvia to assist in normalizing the situation there. Voting takes place on the delegation and its mission and is adopted. Nishanov speaks about a delegation to be sent to South Ossetia to help ease the tension there. The list of delegates is read and approved.

Lukyanov reads a statement on behalf of the Soyuz and Interregional groups regarding television coverage of Lithuanian events.

Deputy Borovik reads a draft decision on the Gulf.

Lukyanov winds up the session by saying that the next session will be convened on the 18 February. The program concludes at 2010 GMT.

Presidium Examines Supreme Soviet Session Results

LD1701111391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov took place at the Kremlin today.

The results of the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet were summed up at the session. It was the longest and a rather fruitful session in terms of results. The highest body of power examined the key problems connected with ways of extricating the country from the crisis; the stabilization of the social, economic and political situation; the preservation and renewal of our Union; and the development of the legislation in accordance with practical demands, the process of going over to the market and formation of a new system of executive bodies.

The issue of the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which has been planned for the second half of February was also examined. In connection with this necessary instructions were given to committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers' commissions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered proposals to renew the composition of committees and committees and listened to reports concerning the course of this work made by chairmen of a number of committees and commissions.

Taking into account the fact that in accordance with a decision, made at the concluding sitting of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and ensuring that a more objective angle is given to the coverage of political processes which are developing in the country, it was made incumbent upon the Committee for Glasnost, Rights, and Citizens' Appeals to draw up, together with the leadership of other committees and commissions, practical measures aimed at resolving this problem.

Some other issues of state life were examined at the sitting.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Stresses No Foreign Policy Change

LD1601220791 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today presented new Soviet-Foreign Minister Aleksander Bessmertnykh to the Soviet Foreign Ministry's collegium and leading staff. Eduard Shevardnadze attended the meeting.

Addressing the meeting, the president noted that in perestroyka years, the Soviet foreign policy entered a new road. He highly assessed the Foreign Ministry's work, noting that its collective has considerably changed. He said the ministry can resolve great tasks.

Gorbachev confirmed that the Soviet Union's foreign political course has not changed and called to put it into practice persistently. "It is not easy, but there is no other way. We should go ahead," he said.

"We have to resolve foreign poliical tasks against the background of difficult domestic problems," he said. Gorbachev said the main task is to resist the country being drawn into the deadlock of opposition, which could lead to a break in society.

He said it would be the gravest mistake and a gift to all opponents of perestroyka inside the country and abroad. On the contrary, it is necessary to reinforce perestroyka forces, rather than weaken them.

Gorbachev noted that all that has been done in international affairs is our wealth. He wished success to Foreign Ministry employees in realising the foreign political course chosen by the country in 1985. He said there are no reasons to change it.

The nomination of Bessmertnykh to the foreign minister post was made proceeding from Soviet foreign political consistency and with due account of the new minister's professional and personal qualities, Gorbachev said.

In his speech at the parliament session and answers to deputies' questions, Bessmertnykh openly and boldly supported our political course.

The results of the parliament's vote and Bessmertnykh's confirmation as the new foreign minister, show that it was not only an approval of the candidate, but a support of the course pursued by our country and a weighty argument in favour of the chosen road, Gorbachev said.

The president noted Shevardnadze's great services to perestroyka, first and foremost in its foreign policy. He said he hoped that Shevardnadze will remain on the political arena and his plans will be implemented with due account of his experience and authority.

In his brief speech, Shevardnadze thanked the president for high assessment of his activities. He said that, as a minister, he considered it his main task to put into practice basic foreign political principles, outlined by Gorbachev during a meeting at the Soviet Foreign Ministry in May 1986.

Bessmertnykh [words indistinct] Foreign Ministry will continue the president's foreign policy firmly and actively, follow the course of new political thinking and do everything possible to ensure favourable international conditions for the success of perestroyka.

Shevardnadze on Bessmertnykh Appointment

PM1601163791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by M. Yusin: "Eduard Shevardnadze on His Successor"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's diplomatic correspondent asked E.A. Shevardnadze to share his opinion of his successor in the post of foreign minister. "All these years," Shevardnadze said, "Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh has been beside us, and this has not been just a physical presence, so to speak. We have had beside us a like-minded person, a comrade, a generator of ideas, a fine man, and a brilliant diplomat. With him we began and carried out the revolution in Soviet-U.S. relations not only the transition from confrontation to collaboration and cooperation but also predetermined profound changes in the world. Today, on leaving the USSR Foreign Ministry and taking leave of my colleagues, I wholeheartedly thanked Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and, I dare to think, our common team with him, wished him success, and expressed confidence that under his leadership the country's main foreign policy department and its entire collective will worthily continue the course of new thinking. I am pleased that the declared continuity of the Soviet Union's foreign policy has been clearly manifested in Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's appointment. The choice that has been made is absolutely correct, and I believe that we will be able to see this for ourselves in the very near future."

Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting with members of the ministry's collegium at the USSR Foreign Ministry 16 January. E. Shevardnadze and A. Bessmertnykh were present at the meeting.

What are the retired foreign minister's future plans? Teymuraz Stepanov, Shevardnadze's aide, told us that Eduard Amvrosiyevich is beginning work on the creation of a Soviet foreign policy association—an independent public organization with the aim of propagandizing the new political thinking. Well-known diplomats and public figures will join the association. Its creators plan to "accumulate the best intellectual forces."

Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh Profiled

PM1701144991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by G. Charodeyev: "Aleksandr Bessmertnykh—USSR Foreign Minister"]

[Text] On 15 January at the USSR Supreme Soviet session USSR President M.S. Gorbachev named A.A. Bessmertnykh, the present USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States, as candidate for the post of USSR foreign minister. In recommending the candidate to the members of the union parliament, the president stressed his great professionalism, noting that he is a man of broad views and high culture.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh was born 10 November 1933 in Biysk, Altay Kray. In 1957 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and is a candidate of juridical sciences. He has been a CPSU member since 1963. A.A. Bessmertnykh has been working in the USSR Foreign Ministry system since 1957. In 1966-1970 in a group of aides to the minister and from 1970 through 1983 as first secretary, adviser, and adviser-envoy at the USSR Embassy in the United States. In 1983 he became a member of the ministry collegium and was appointed chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry U.S. department. In 1986 he had a new appointment—as deputy foreign minister—and since 1988 A.A. Bessmertnykh has been first deputy minister. In May 1990 he left to be USSR ambassador to the United States.

A.A. Bessmertnykh has a family, a grown up daughter, and his son Arseniy was born on the eve of 1991...

In August 1988 in the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN the future minister imparted his thoughts about the prospects of the USSR's foreign policy.

In any situations, he wrote, it is essential to act primarily from positions of realism and a balanced and cool consideration of one's own and other people's interests. Common human values in the nuclear age have taken priority positions with regard to other, class-based and national, interests. The USSR's foreign policy, restructured on the basis of the new thinking and seeking positive advances in the international situation, is becoming a central part of our society's perestroyka. Here there is a logical interconnection and interdependence. The deeper the revolutionary transformation of socialism's economic and political structure on the paths of the enhancement of democracy and the moral purging of the people, then the more effective diplomacy will be. And the other way round. The profitability and helpfulness of Soviet foreign policy is both direct and indirect: The former lies in successes at talks to reduce and limit arms burdening the economy; the latter lies in ensuring a peaceful, calm atmosphere for perestroyka in the country.

Expressing thanks to the USSR president for nominating him for the post of USSR foreign minister, in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session Aleksandr Bessmertnykh noted that he also feels slightly sad inasmuch as the appointment comes after the departure from this post of such a popular and brilliant foreign minister as E.A. Shevardnadze.

The policy of the new thinking, he continued, has pushed back the horizons for our country and turned it into a friendly power for the whole world. It reflects more fully the country's national interests. What will this policy be like in the future? There can be only one answer to that question, the new minister believes: The policy of the new thinking will be continued, preserved, and developed.

Bakatin Urges 'Hearing' on Vilnius Violence

PM1601151391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 p 1

[Telephone interview with Vadim Bakatin, member of the USSR Presidential Council, by A. Kosulnikov 15 January; place not specified: "Evening Telephone Call to Vadim Bakatin"]

[Text] Yesterday evening we telephoned Vadim Bakatin, Presidential Council member, and asked him to comment on the tragic events in Lithuania.

[Bakatin] Naturally, like all sensible people, I am indignant at what has happened and convey my most sincere condolences to the relatives of the dead. But I am surprised and stunned by at least two things.

First, I do not understand why the country's president did not sharply and unequivocally dissociate himself from the tyranny in Vilnius.

His demands and actions as president to return to normal the processes linked with Lithuanian independence and the observance of human rights there had and have nothing in common with a nocturnal putsch.

I spoke to Mikhail Sergeyevich on Sunday evening and on Monday and I knew that everything that happened in Vilnius came as a complete surprise to him.

I worked for two years in quite close contact with him in the law-enforcement sphere and I know that he always—even in highly complex cases—tried to avoid unnecessary violence with no basis in law. So why did the Soviet president not say this lucidly and clearly in his speech at the session?

Second, I totally fail to understand parliamentarians' complaints about lack of information. As in the time of Peter [Tsar Peter I], a messenger comes along and tells us who started it, and we then investigate. Is that what is happening? There are people who should be given this information and there are people from whom it should be demanded.

Ultimately, it is of absolutely no importance to parliamentarians who was the first to fire. The investigation will find out. Something else is of importance. The utter unconstitutionality and lawlessness of the action resulting in the fatalities are obvious. We can only regret that now. But something else is equally obvious—the lack of proper evaluation and reaction from legislators.

The generals cannot—they do not have the right to—send tanks in response to a call from a street, yard, or any other committee, however loudly it glorifies itself. Nor do they have the slightest legitimate grounds for seizing the television center or for declaring a curfew.

I think that the KGB and the USSR prosecutor should look into the self-styled committee that has attempted to depose the republic's legally elected Supreme Soviet (regardless of the quality and direction of the policy it pursues). That is, of course, if they believe that the USSR Constitution and Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation still extend to Lithuania. I think that they do believe that. If not, everything is even more strange.

[Kosulnikov] According to your assessments, how will events in Lithuania affect the future development of events in the country.

[Bakatin] I do not think that we should expect anything good, either in our country or indeed around the world. At least until events have been properly assessed. I repeat: This should be done immediately. Otherwise the signing of the new Union Treaty will also be in jeopardy, along with all our international contacts.

[Kosulnikov] Do you not think that there are more general laws than coincidences in the development of the Lithuanian conflict? Too many strange coincidences...

[Bakatin] I do not think that there was any well-formed, well thought-out plan. Although all manner of general laws can certainly begin to be drawn up from the time when the parliament reacted to the Nagorno-Karabakh situation —do you remember?—only two weeks later. We are constantly late—very substantially late. So substantially that some kind of system can be perceived in this. As for the latest events in Lithuania... I do not want to prophesy. The hearing that I hope will nonetheless take place must make the final assessments.

TASS Defends Lithuanian Reporting

LD1601184891 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—The journalist organization at TASS, the Soviet official news agency, said it categorically disagreed with charges leveled at it by the Moscow organisation of the Soviet Journalists' Union which alleged TASS reports on developments in Lithuania were "biased and helped fan inter-ethnic strife".

The TASS journalist organisation said in statement released today that "'grave accusations of TASS journalists were inconsistent with facts".

The statement notes that TASS has released over 300 items signed by correspondents and the agency which belie the allegations.

"In the Baltic region, just as in other regions of the world, TASS sees its single aim in repoting the goings-on promptly and accurately. Any other approach to the agency's work is not honest," the statement says.

Crackdown in Lithuania Analyzed

PM1601121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Otto Latsis: "I Fear a Political Chernobyl"]

[Text] In recent days we have learned many new things about our state's power. We have learned not from just anyone in the street but from government ministers speaking in the USSR Supreme Soviet and from the president himself. We have learned striking and frightening things.

It has come to light, for example, that a group; without revealing its members' names or even its size, representing an unknown populace, and receiving public [glasnyy] powers from no one on either a democratic or a bureaucratic basis, can call itself the National Salvation Committee and at once assume unheard-of power. It might, let us say, want the military garrison to act on its orders against the lawfully elected power—it will act, shoot, and kill—and then the USSR minister of defense will not perceive this as a violation of the law. According to the spirit and letter of the law in any country, such actions are called an antistate plot. And it is perfectly logical that one deputy asked this question: Have the plotters been arrested? It turned out that, no, they have not been arrested, and it is not clear whether anyone intends to stop them.

Of course, the readers will have recognized that I am describing what happened during the discussion of events in Lithuania at the 14 January USSR Supreme Soviet sitting. Unfortunately, this time neither the radio nor television made a complete recording of the speeches at the session. I have to rely on the existing fragmentary information. But I will endeavor to convey what is known without distortions or exaggerations. I will confine myself, where necessary, just to "translating" from the emotional and ideologized language of rallies and propaganda into the dry language of political and legal terms. "Group of plotters," for example, does not sound as fine as "National Salvation Committee," but it is more accurate from the viewpoint of the law.

I will stipulate that I am not yet prepared to assess the actions of the National Salvation Committee and the military men who have sided with it—for we do not yet know even the names, not to mention the specific events

and the motives, intentions, and aims of the participants. For the time being let us hold back from criticizing them. On the contrary, I have perfectly mature criticisms to level at the long well-known actions of Lithuania's leaders. For complete clarity, I will express them briefly.

I consider the policy of Lithuania's secession from the USSR a policy of national disaster: In the event of the long-standing ties being severed, economic and political losses for the republic will ensue without delay, while the advantages of freedom gained will come in the indeterminate future; the inevitable losses will be greater than the expected advantages; finally, the losses are undoubtedly real, while the advantages are most likely illusory. The ideas of political revenge recently cultivated in Lithuania can only be called a reactionary utopia. It is impossible to return to 1939—and God preserve us from such a possibility. Also, the attempts to use the extremely important and valid conclusion of A.N. Yakovlev's commission on the "Molotov-Ribbentrop pact" to justify separatism are absolutely spurious. As for encouraging anti-Soviet and anticommunist rhetoric and propaganda justifying Hitler's accomplices, all this is simply immoral. In short, the present Lithuanian Supreme Soviet cannot be absolved of its share of the blame for the chain of events that resulted in bloodshed. As I have observed its activity, I have wholeheartedly wished that the republic's people will favor the Union in the course of a referendum.

More than that, it would be hard to approve of Landsbergis' policy even if you consider separatism justified: It is a dilettante policy that does not serve the interests of the matter but serves to satisfy ambition. It has helped most of all the opponents of Lithuania's real sovereignty. Finally, even if it were both just and rational, it would be impossible to overlook the inadmissible methods: The Lithuanian authorities have adopted many unlawful acts grossly violating human rights.

All this is so. But one truth is immutable at all times: Lawlessness must not be answered with lawlessness. If the response to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's illegal acts was to ban it from power by introducing presidential rule, no one could deny that an official empowered by law is here taking a step provided by the law. It is, of course, an extreme and undesirable step, and it would be possible to argue about its political expediency under specific conditions and about its opportuneness, but not about its legality. But the Salvation Committee is unknown to the law. Not even murder can be answered with lynch law—only with justice. How, then, was the USSR Supreme Soviet to evaluate the events that use of the lynch law of the Salvation Committee resulted in killings?

This is the question I want to ask today: not the question of the events themselves, that have not yet been investigated, but of their discussion by the country's supreme legislative organ. This is because these debates provide a kind of test of the reliability of our new mechanisms of power. Such a test is extremely necessary, because I fear this will not be the last difficult case to be encountered in the work of the Supreme Soviet and the government. In Lithuania's neighboring republic, for example, they have disagreed with the alienation of property and are already turning not to arbitration (where, as everyone knows, economic disputes should be resolved) but to the special purpose militia detachment. And the latter acts.

Why, though, look so far afield for examples? Are things any better here in Moscow? Have we not read in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee plenum documents appeals for the creation of public salvation committees and self-defense detachments? Salvation from whom? Defense against whom? There is no Landsbergis in Russia. its Supreme Soviet does not propose seceding from the USSR and has not adopted laws infringing the rights of its own population. What do we want with salvation committees here?

I am afraid that it is not only in Vilnius that there will be military men prepared to carry out the orders of commanding officers who lack authorization. That is why some of our Army cadres' official instructors are acting very strangely. A few days ago, for instance, I came across an article whose author, without bothering with proof, declared the abovementioned report by A.N. Yakovlev—approved by the supreme organ of power—to be a "monstrous slander." It says that most (!) peoples' deputies "are itching to blacken the USSR's history as much as possible." Further the author of the article lapses into immoderate arguments about M.S. Gorbachev, charging him with a "pogrom against socialism" and "economic subversion." Let us leave this gutter vocabulary to the author's conscience; it only degrades the author himself. As for the crux of the matter, you must recognize that every USSR citizen has the right to criticize the USSR president without restriction. A citizen can criticize the president. But can a servicemen criticize his commanding officer? Military statutes do not seem to provide this kind of freedom. As is known, the USSR president is also the supreme commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces. The above article was carried by VOENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, a USSR Defense Ministry organ, and by no means by editorial oversight. It was the journal's chief editor, V. Filatov, who wrote the accompanying sympathetic commentary, in itself remarkable. "It has long been known," the editor writes, "that democracy without dictatorship degenerates into anarchy..." Reader, can you imagine this marvel of nature: democracy with dictatorship? I cannot, whereas General V. Filatov can. He can also imagine other things. He won, after all, renown for deciding to print Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in his journal. Fortunately, the USSR defense minister stated in PRAVDA that this decision was mistaken and that conclusions—serious ones at that—would be drawn from it. Something very serious is obviously in preparation, because to this day I have not seen any report as to what kind of conclusions they are.

But let us return to our subject. There is something I want to clarify: If something threatens my security, as well as my fellow citizens' security and our constitutional system, I want to be defended by the deputies I have elected and the USSR president, and the executive organs they have appointed. But I do not want our soldiers to be hurled into the hell of internecine conflict by mysterious salvation committees, not to mention generals with a love for dictatorship. That is why I take such a nitpicking view of the following question: Is the **legitimate** authority reliable?

What ensures legality? A multiple guarantee of functionability. Remember the documentary on the investigation into the Chernobyl accident? The automatic safety system was disconnected. Specialists recorded: "human error." At that stage an accident was still impossible. A second system was switched off: a "second human error." Then a third. How many were there altogether? Six seem to have been needed for it to "blow up." (Let us note in parentheses that those who carried out the order to breach the system were among the first to perish.) But what is essential is that accidents must be ruled out notwithstanding any errors. This is said to be virtually realizable in technology, but not in politics. Therefore, the more backup [dubliruyushchiy] safety systems, the better.

What did the initial parliamentary investigation into the Vilnius political accident reveal?

The first malfunction in the political system: The salvation committee not sanctioned by the law emerged and declared itself the authority. No organ of power in the Union objected. That was the "first human error." The committee appealed to the Vilnius garrison for assistance. The commandant did not refuse or stop the illegal activity but turned to the district deputy commander for authorization. That was the "second human error." I will add that it was an understandable mistake and even arouses sympathy. How many attacks, insults, and violations of servicemen's and their families' rights can we endure? On the other hand, I cannot understand Landsbergis and his supporters: If they value Lithuania's freedom, how could they cast it into a senseless confrontation with the Baltic Military District? Yes, I repeat that I can understand the feelings of the military men who sided with the salvation committee. But feelings are feelings and the law is the law.

The third mistake proved fatal: The district authorized use of garrison troops when the Constitution makes no internal provision for the Army—the defender against an external threat. One cannot, incidentally, help but be delighted by the statement issued at the session that Moscow was not involved in this: I would not like to have the USSR defense minister giving orders for troops to be used in domestic conflicts. But the report is also perplexing: How was it possible for such steps to be taken without his authorization?

It is too early to judge the future. Should the troops have been recalled immediately once the defense minister found out about the clash and the casualties? I do not know at present. Another error may show up here. At the session should the two ministers have approved all the actions taken by the salvation committee and the troops? The mistake here seems obvious. Did the Supreme Soviet act correctly? It seemed to have acted correctly to begin with—I say this with some doubt because I have not received full information about the session.

It looks as though there are not enough safety guarantees. The legislative is more or less operational, the executive is malfunctioning. As long as this is the situation, there are grounds to fear the repetition of the trouble on an even larger scale—to fear a political Chernobyl.

I am afraid for myself and for my country. That is why I say that if there is really a threat to the constitutional system, I am prepared to defend it in words and deeds by any legitimate means. But I do not agree to be "saved" from any dangers by illegal means; we have already experienced that kind of "salvation." Ivan Andreyevich Krylov described it in his tale "The Hermit and the Bear." God, save us from saviors like that.

Moscow Demonstration for Lithuania Scheduled

LD1601121791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] A report for your consideration. At a session of the Coordination Committee of the Democratic Russia movement, a decision has been adopted to hold on Sunday 20 January a Moscow-wide demonstration organized in defense of Lithuania. Assembly is planned for 1130 in the vicinity of the Ploshchad Vosstaniya and Ulitsa Chaykovskogo. Then the columns of demonstrators will pass through the New Arbat toward the Manezh, from there to Lubyanskaya, and then to Staraya Ploshchad where a meeting will be held.

Gorbachev Meets 'Survival' Committee

LD1701125391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1 and 4

[Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the USSR meets with an international peace group in the Kremlin on 15 January; "USSR President Meets With Leaders of International Foundation 'For the Survival and Development of Mankind.'"]

[Text] In the Kremlin today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with the Board of Directors of the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind, comprising Ye. P. Velikhov (USSR), M. Gutierrez (Italy), P. Duerr (Germany), R. McNamara (USA), McTaggart (Great Britain), D. Matuszewski (USA), S. Eisenhower (USA), Metropolitan Pitirim (USSR), C. Mathais (USA), H. Richter (Germany), B. Sendov (Bulgaria), G. Sculley (USA), F. Von Hippel (USA), P.

Nedkov (Bulgaria), A. Eisenstadt (USA), T. Hesburg (USA), B. Miler (USA), A.N. Yakovlev, A.I. Volskiy and R.I. Khairov (USSR).

In his address, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said:

Our meeting is taking place on a symbolic day. January 15, 1986 saw the proclamation of the Soviet Union's desire to do everything required of it to see that the world is free of nuclear weapons by the end of the century. January 15, 1991 is the day the whole world is transfixed with alarm, hoping for the truimph of reason, in the first international crisis since the Cold War, its end being a major step along the road toward implementing the idea released to the world five years ago.

This idea serves the survival of mankind. In the last five years it has penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the people and is being expanded in an every increasing number of ways: From an understanding of "survival" as preventing nuclear military conflict, through seeing it as ecological harmony between man and nature, toward seeing "survival" as a form of spiritual communion and rebirth for mankind.

At the time our appeal received broad support but also aroused a wave of distrust and skepticism in a very wide variety of circles. Not everyone believed in the sincerity of the Soviet leadership's policy, while the term "new political thinking" had only begun to surface around the world. I well rememember the headlines: "Russia's New Propaganda Maneuver," "Wonderful But Still Only a Dream," "The Kremlin's Illusions," and so on. Five years have gone by and the international situation has changed completely. And it is very important that beyond all the difficult, severe problems of our daily lives we should not lose sight of the greatness of these changes and the fact that civilization has moved toward's a new era of peace.

I am happy that on this day I am again meeting the International Fund for Survival, which has made a significant contribution to implementing the 15 January program. The Moscow forum "For a Nuclear Free World And the Survival of Mankind" took up the baton and became a part of the machinery for implementing this program. Three years ago we said: "Politicians cannot do without the original and indispensable contribution of scientists and the social intellectual forces of mankind." This is confirmed today in the activity of your fund as well.

The fund is three years old today. I know that during that time important research has been carried out providings a scientific basis for the progress toward a nuclear free world and for disarmament in general. The fund has embarked on work in the theory and practice of parliamentarianism, legislation, and economic reforms. The intention to set up an international Academy of Book Art, a most noble and highly necessary task, is a plan of huge significance in the area of promoting cultural policy. Naturally it was with satisfaction that we also received news of the plan for "Glasnet", the first non-governmental and noncommercial computer network in the USSR. The first textbook on the market economy is being prepared for secondary schools in the USSR, as is a text book on Russian history for Russian-speaking schools throughout the world. All of these things are original and bold undertakings in the spirit of the times.

I welcome the fund's model plans for the economic and social rebirth of certain parts of our country based on the example of Tver Oblast and the Moscow area. This may be extremely useful in our present conditions. We shall support them.

I think highly of the fund's appeal for new directions in safeguarding international security, specifically on the economic side. I have been told that the board of directors is thinking about the relevant programs and is planning to involve major industrial and financial corporations in these programs.

I know that the fund has a mass of projects aimed at "saving civilization," averting social catastrophe for the world, and fighting "the entropy of history". I think that this is a great task. It touches on highly acute and topical problems including the nationalities and ethnic problems today making themselves felt so dramatically.

It is highly important to consider today the living conditions and interests of those peoples and nationalities who have no adequate expression in the existing structure of international relations. By that I mean peoples in exile, ethnic minorities, and deprived groups of people living in the land of their forefathers, and even ethnic majorities without legitimate right.

What do they represent, these people who do not take part in any movements, who do not vote in polls and elections, who don't attend rallies and marches, do not write to the papers and do not appear on television? We are making a fundamental mistake in virtually ignoring the "uncomplaining courage" of the lives of these thousands of millions of people. They have a special attitude to life, one deeply rooted in their destiny and one not seeking to express itself outwardly. But these people have amassed a vast unique experience, not yet understood, of struggling with the trials of life and retaining their human dignity in any conditions. This so far untapped human potential, sometimes referred to in the mass press as "the silent majority", is in reality waiting to be scientifically and socially understood for the good of both itself and all of us.

The potential of mankind cannot be divided. It loses a great deal when only the "best" is selected for it—active citizens, the best minds, great peoples, developed states, and so on. There should be a place for all in the heroic deed of survival and of developing the 21st century. It must open up an era when the quality of man's conscious involvement in the life of the world community is greater and, at the same time, an era when there are much greater opportunities for such participation.

It is worth renewing the initiative of several major cultural figures who a few years ago proposed marking the start of the third millennium with a planet-wide meeting. It is conceived as a review of the achievements of civilization and as a way of demonstrating the ideas for the future.

Heads of states and governments, leaders of parties and movements—regardless of their world view—religious figures from various churches, leading writers, scientists, artists, and actors—the elite of mankind could take part in the meeting as well as representatives of the "forgotten" section of society of which I spoke earlier.

The result of this meeting could be an overall strategy for civilization to progress in its new stage. Coordination of the content and direction for this program would reflect the true level of political, ecological, legal, and cultural awareness at the turn of the century.

It should also be stressed that the year 2000 will see the 25th anniversary of the Helsinki Declaration (1975) and the 10th anniversary of the Paris Charter for a New Europe (1990). The difference between these two documents will characterize the dynamics of the development of mankind in just a quarter century, an impressive spurt in such a negligibly short time when measured against millennia.

The world around us today, despite the disasters and crises, immense difficulties and problems, provides grounds for making an optimistic assessment of the viability of ideas based on the logic of historical development and on consideration of the potential of the social forces that are being renewed. An original, honorary place in the implementation of these designs belongs to the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind.

Velikhov, chairman of the fund's Board of Directors, spoke briefly about the basic guidelines of the fund's activities over the recent period and stressed that it was one of the fund's priority tasks to ban completely the testing of nuclear weapons and to strengthen the nonproliferation regime.

At the request of the guests, the USSR President described the problems of the current, extremely difficult and crucial phase in the development of Soviet society. In particular, there was talk of the profound reforms in politics, economics, and relations between nationalities as well as creating a new union of sovereign states. The transition of such a great country as the USSR with its many centuries of history, its traditions and multiethnic structure cannot be accomplished painlessly. Therefore the main thing today is not to lose our heads and not to lose our way in the face of most complex problems, but to resolve them using the whole arsenal of political means.

The USSR president stressed the immutability of the foreign policy course that has been unequivocally endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet when confirming the appointment of the new foreign minister. In this context, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, replying to a question from Susan Eisenhower, confirmed the particular importance of Soviet-U.S. relations to the strengthening of healthy tendencies in the international arena, and his devotion to the deepening of mutual understanding and trust with President Bush and with the U.S. Administration.

Concluding the conversation, the USSR president said that he intended firmly and consistently to follow the choice that he has made in domestic and foreign policy. He wished success to the fund's leadership in its important and noble activities.

The meeting, which was marked by openness and amicability, was attended by Bessmertnykh, Boldin, and Petrovskiy.

Gorbachev Addresses CPSU Program Commission

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Second Edition pp 1 and 3

[Address by President Mikhail Gorbachev at a session of the CPSU program commission on 16 January in Moscow: "Toward A New Version of Social Progress]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan—A meeting of the commission to prepare a new party program took place on 16 January under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In an introductory speech M.S. Gorbachev stressed the vital significance of this work. Without a clear definition of political aims and clarity in fundamental questions of theory, unsteadiness in strategy and serious errors in tactics are unavoidable. Before us is the task of working out a profound and clear document, one that will become a reliable guide for all further work to renew the party and to strengthen its vanguard role in restructuring Soviet society on the principles of democratic socialism.

The main long-term tasks of the party and ways and means to achieve them should first and foremost be outlined in the new program. Now, when the country is living through a acute and dramatic period in its development, is it appropriate to engage in questions of political strategy? Would it not be more useful to put off a theoretical search until tomorrow and to concentrate attention on urgent matters? Yes, the party is going through a difficult time. Mastering the new reality—a result of perestroyka, democratization and glasnost—and the forming of political pluralism, is difficult. However, no matter how acute today's problems are, this does not cancel the need to define long-term guidelines. Communists and all suporters of the CPSU await scientifically-based replies to the main questions: What will happen to the country as a result of the policy of perestroyka, and what kind of society are we moving toward?

Of course, one must never ignore questions of current policy, either. A program document should reflect reality, from the complex and contradictory intricacies of social phenomena. It should also contain a realistic prediction of the future, and an appraisal of the present moment. At the same time one should consider the fact that at the present time the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and the October (1990) Central Committee plenum serve as a specific program of action. The tasks in most important areas, such as the transition to a market economy, the deepening of democracy and the renewal of the party itself are defined in them, taking accounting the present situation in the country. This, strictly speaking, is the CPSU's minimum program for today.

The next program will be the fourth in the party's history. The first was adopted in 1903 and consisted of two parts: a minimal program and a maximum program. The second was in March 1919 after the victory of the October Revolution. The third, adopted by the 22d CPSU Congress in October 1961, was born on the wave of an improvement in the sociopolitical situation in the country. In many ways it was a result of the purifying decisions of the 20th congress. At the same time, it was created in an atmosphere of a kind of euphoria emerging in the party and society after the liberation from the excesses of authoritarianism. This to a considerable degree explained the fact that the third program incidentally the most specific in defining targets and the timescale for achieving them, proved to be fundamentally unrealistic. The promise [obshcheniye] to build communism in the course of the life of a single generation became a midieval example of political impracticality.

On top of everything many innovative ideas, engendered by the atmosphere of the 20th congress, have remained on paper. For a course was taken to deviate from the line of the congress, toward consolidating the authoritarian-bureaucratic regime. The domination of command methods of management, a depression in the economy, stagnation in the intellectual sphere—all this did not fit in with the party's proclaimed program objectives. At various times attempts were made to modernize individual clauses of the program, as they say, to save face in the clash with the self-evident facts of life. The concept of improving so-called developed socialism as a historically lengthy period in the progressive movement of Soviet society superceded the idea of rapidly building communism. However, it also revealed its inconsistency. At the 27th CPSU Congress a serious attempt was made to give the third program an realistic appearance in the world and inside the Union. A new edition appeared, removing some of the Utopic schemes of its predecessor. However, the economic and political principles, that, as a matter of fact, had led society into an impasse, were preserved intact.

We began perestroyka as a new revolution, aiming to emancipate the individual, to overcome his alienation from property, power and culture, and to confirm the value of the individual. At a theoretical level this signified overcoming many provisions of the existing program. It was not in accord with the new realities of internal and international life, and did not reflect the demands of the development of the party and society.

Thus, it must be clearly seen that we must create a fundamentally new CPSU program; not to renovate or patch up the old theses, but to seek out innovative solutions.

In the past few years very significant changes have taken place in the world requiring a comprehensive interpretation. Thanks to the new political thinking we have managed to halt the world community's slide toward a thermonuclear catastrophe. The "Cold War" has disappeared into the past. The formation of a new world order has begun. The USSR is vigorously integrating into the international system of economic links and political cooperation.

Radical changes have taken place and are continuing to deepen in our society. In the economy a start has been made toward forming market relations based on the equality of different forms of property. The political system has acquired a new quality, and the basic mechanics of a law-governed state are being installed. The transformation of the USSR into a federation of sovereign republics is entering a decisive stage. We have moved away from the one dimensional ideology that distiguished our social thought for so long and have come to a wider understanding of spiritual values and to a recognition not only of class and national values, but also of common human values and—what is of no less importance—of the interests of people, the interests of individuals.

Cardinal changes are taking place in the CPSU itself. It is no longer a party that manages state affairs in a monopolistic fashion. It is becoming a mass democratic organization of working people, using exclusively political methods in the name of humane socialism. A law-governed democratic state; a voluntary union of equal self-governing peoples; an efficient market economy; and social protection and justice—such are our main guidelines today.

In essence we are talking about working out a program for a new party, and making a final break with the legacy of an authoritarian system, with deformations of socialism and distortions of Leninist theory. However, in no way does this mean the repudiation of the post-October experience. We categorically reject attempts, together with the crimes of Stalinism, to subject to insults all of the innovative experience of the workers' and peasants' revolution, and the material and spiritual creativity of the people over 73 years of Soviet power. Everything that has vindicated itself, that can further serve people, should be carefully preserved. Loss of memory is dangerous. Without a memory of history there cannot be a genuinely responsible and authoritative political party.

In preparing the program a whole number of most complex theoretical questions are to be solved and the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are to be reinterpreted in a creative way, taking into consideration the realities of the end of the 20th Century. Clearly, success will come only on the basis of attracting the whole potential of contemporary Soviet and world scientific knowledge. We have a good basis—**the program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism"**. Many of its key ideas are supported by the people, have become the guidelines of perestroyka, and are currently undergoing a practical test. They demand, of course, a thorough analytical study.

I will name the problems or the "blocks" which, in my view, will require priority attention. Any serious political document must have a key idea running through all its sections. As I see it, **the new vision of social progress** and its criteria, taking into account the experience of the development of the world community and all the achievements of the human mind, could become such an idea. It is on this basis that one should determine the tasks of the CPSU as a party, which is directing its work toward the implementation of historically progressive goals.

Evidently, one should give a comprehensive picture of the modern world from the point of view of its becoming an integral, interinked global socium. It is precisely in this direction that mankind is being propelled by he tendencies in science and technology, in political and social development which are objectively strengthening the interdependence of states. This is being encouraged by the urgent need to avoid a nuclear catastrophe and the dangers connected with the ecological and other global problems. Briefly, in the program we cannot avoid giving a description of the contemporary state of civilization and an analysis of the dynamics of the development of world society. In this context it is essential to clarify how accurately contemporary realities are reflected by the concepts of state monopoly capitalism, the struggle between two world social systems as the pivot of world development, the traditional division of the world into socialist, capitalist, and developing countries.

The second bloc of problems is the **assessment of the historical path and an analysis of the contemporary state of Soviet society and the party.** Quite a few interesting ideas have been developed recently on this. Nevertheless, commensurate replies have been found for far from all the questions. For example, it is necessary to elucidate the basic parameters and possible directions of the development of the social structure in conditions of a multiplicity of forms of property and to elucidate the nature of sociopolitical demarcations.

For it is only on the basis of this that one can determine the social basis of the CPSU and its place in a changing and renewing society.

The CPSU's **philosophical principles must be set out in the program and methodological approaches** given toward the concepts of socialism and communism. In this third section it is appropriate to give an extensive exposition of the concept of a humane, democratic socialism as a society of economic efficiency, social justice, political democracy and humane solidarity. The resolution of all these major theoretical problems will serve as the basis for formulating the **CPSU's value guidelines and program aims.** In this section it should be shown that man, his interests, and his material and intellectual needs are the point of departure of the CPSU's policy; the orientation toward building a society possessing a capability toward self-development in harmony with the environment should be substantiated. Here, too, the concept of a socially oriented economy should be set out and the CPSU's positions in the sphere of interrelations between the state and the market, the social and private sectors of the economy, economic efficiency and social protection, and so forth should be defined in general theoretical terms. It is evident that concern for the intellectual flourishing of society, the revival of the best folk traditions, for an upsurge in science, art, culture, and the raising of moral foundations must be a priority program task. The CPSU'S aims regarding the country's long-term foreign policy course should be set out and our understanding of the imperatives of the new nonconfrontational type of international relations, of peaceful cooperation and codevelopment of countries in the foreseeable future should be described.

Finally, it is necessary to highlight the block of problems concerning the **role and place of the CPSU in a renewed society**, the understanding of the main functions of the party as a fundamentally new political organization, the forms of its interaction with the state, sociopolitical organizations and movements and the development of internal party relations.

How does the organization of the coming work look? It is clear that time must not be wasted on getting it moving. It is sensible to set a three-month deadline for the repesentation of the first draft to a Central Committee plenum. If the Central Committee considers the draft to be a suitable basis, it could be published for discussion within the whole party. In setting about the work two extremes must be avoided. On the one hand, the new program must not be abstract and "over technical," comprehensible only to specialists. On the other it is necessary to rule out an oversimplification of complex problems. In short, we need a serious theoretical document that is clearly set out and comprehensible to everyone.

At the 28th Congress 134 persons were elected to our commission. They are Communists belonging to various social, professional, and age sectors and groups and representatives of various platforms existing within the party. This membership opens up an opportunity for the preparation of the program to be conducted in an atmosphere of creative discussion and comparison of views, and excludes hothouse conditions for authors adhering to a single position. At the same time one

would like unavoidable and useful discussions to provide an impulse for advance and not become an empty debate about words alone.

Another point of principle: We will not succeed in creating a complete CPSU program without the participation of the whole party. It is the task of our commission to organize a collective search, to summarize its results, and process them. Scientists, specialists in various fields, CPSU scientific and educational establishments, and the party intelligentsia are to be drawn into the work and broad debates are to be organized in the media. None thought worthy of attention should be overlooked. Only in that way can we create a document capable of passing the test of time.

An exchange of opinions took place after the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Specific decisions were adopted—on setting up a working group (led by V.A. Ivashko and I.T. Frolov) and creative collectives on sections of the draft, on attracting scientific establishments and the party press, on forms of discussing program issues in party organizations and committees.

The commission was instructed to make a systematic generalization of the incoming proposals from Communists, representatives of other sociopolitical movements and organizations, and nonparty members.

Dzasokhov Addresses CPSU Renewal Conference

PM1101160791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report on speech by A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Finding Ways of Renewing Party Work"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A conference of party workers dealing in the problems of political and ideological work and the questions of education, science, and culture, is being held at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Meetings and discussions have been held with sociologists, and key problems in current CPSU policy—including issues such as the party's parliamentary function and its implementation in the soviets, the development of social sciences at the present-day stage, new sociopolitical organizations and movements in the USSR, and others—have been discussed.

At the opening of the conference, its participants were addressed by A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We publish below a brief account of his speech.

Dwelling on the features of the country's sociopolitical situation, the speaker stressed that the CPSU consistently advocates the democratic processes in the country. At the same time, it was noted that not all political forces recognize their responsibility for the country's fate and the process of democratic transformation. The continuing speculation about negative points in the country's history is destructive. The efforts of unscrupulous pundits and the self-reproach, self-disparagement, and discrediting of our own people's historic past are arousing more and more hostility in society.

The most important event in the country's political life over the past year was the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, adopting crucial decisions on stabilizing Soviet society, maintaining the integrity of, and renewing the USSR. This is the inspiring political result of the party's work under the new conditions. Intensive and systematic work by party committees and Communist deputies lies behind the Congress' decisions. The CPSU's parliamentary activity, including cooperation with various political platforms, is acquiring new forms.

The report devoted particular attention to the situation in the party at the present-day stage. The main thing, in A.S. Dzasokhov's opinion, is for Communists to adopt the genuine essence of democracy within the party. As is well known, vacillation has emerged within the party. Abstract declarations have weakened its organizational and political principles. The democratization of party life has not always been backed up by concrete action everywhere. Today party committees and Communists must operate under new conditions, sometimes win back the trust of the masses, and acquire experience in political campaigning. It is they who will have to be the initiators of and catalysts for new social processes. The aim of the democratization of intraparty life is to ensure the authority of the party masses. This process has only just started. The CPSU's political activity should be increasingly based on the committed and conscientious participation of the party aktiv on an unpaid [obshchestvennyy] basis. Certain positive trends that have been seen of late should not lead to euphoria about success or to self-deception. Renewal in the party is proceeding in a contradictory fashion. Great work will have to be done. As V.I. Lenin wrote, to maintain the social nature of our party we need the party to be "able to adapt **its form** to changing conditions and alter this **form** according to the demands of the time..." (Complete Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 29).

It was later npted that our political opponents' obviously lack a constructive program and often compensate for it by adopting a course of confrontation. Thus, for instance, speculation about so-called privileges for communists is still going on. Given that this issue has become an attack on the party, the speaker, citing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum, demonstrated the groundlessness of these accusations.

Nationalities policy and interethnic relations are matters of particular concern for the party. The main thing here is to maintain the CPSU's international unity and not allow it to be built on a confederative base. If the principle of internationalism does not prevail, the party

could encounter serious and dramatic tests and its place in the political arena could be taken by nationalist forces.

Whereas before we pushed the national factor into the background, today we are starting to forget about internationalism and the molding of citizens who recognize the interlinked and interdependent nature of the peoples' destiny and the need for them to live together in the context of common problems that can only be solved in unison. The combination of the international and the national factors is the only way to maintain our motherland's integrity. There is no alternative to this path for the CPSU either; it is permanently linked to its struggle for socialist ideals.

The party is today taking a kind of historic examination. The strength of its international principles is being tested, and it will be necessary to prove under the current difficult conditions that the party upholds in equal measure both common interests and the interests of individual peoples and is striving in practice to ensure that they participate equally in sociopolitical life.

The CPSU is in no way calling for the rejection of national allegiances, but it is Communists' duty to resolutely put a stop to speculating on the population's national feelings, playing off ethnic interests against each other, and infringing the rights of the people and citizens to their own national identity.

On the party's initiative—and this is one of its main and abiding achievements of the past few years—our people have acquired freedom of political choice and political expression, and real freedom of religion and speech enshrined in law. Unfortunately, people have short memories. Some people, including some of our comrades, have quickly forgotten the difficulty with which democratic freedoms were obtained.

Is our political work in line with the qualitatively new demands? We need to honestly admit that we are clearly lagging behind fast-moving sociopolitical processes. There is a wide range of opinions both among Communists and throughout society about the problems of ownership, the shaping of market relations, and so forth. The party's position on these and other vitally important questions has currently been defined. The party is in favor of a mixed economy and various competing forms of ownership; needless to say, however, the people will have the last word.

At a time when millions of people will have to make difficult social choices, the role and responsibility of the mass media is particularly great. In September through December 1990 alone 1,250 periodicals were registered with the USSR State Committee for the Press. Moreover, more than 450 publications have been registered with the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Mass Information and more than 200 with the Moscow City Soviet. Private publications registered on the basis of Article 7 of the USSR law "On the Press and Other Mass Media" (around 200 are published in Moscow alone) have also appeared. Around half of the registered publications are new newspapers, weeklies, information sheets, and magazines.

It is not at all easy for ordinary readers, who have by no means fully overcome the legacy of authoritarian thinking yet, to get their bearings when faced by this motley political panoply. It follows from all this that there is a need to fundamentally review the role and place of the party press and its relationship with state ideology and the ideologies of other political parties and trends. Competition in the information sphere has already become a reality—and that competition is very tough and even brutal.

The structural reorganization of the party press is currently being completed. A number of new party publications started coming out in 1990. The CPSU Central Committee Press Center has been established and is operating. The formation of an association or grouping of party publications and an all-Union club of Communist journalists is in the organizational stage, and the editorial boards of party newspapers and journals have been granted greater independence. At the same time the fact that overall circulation of central party newspapers and journals is no more than 10 million when the party has a membership of around 18 million is cause for concern. There is food for thought here for both party publication editorial boards and party committees, including the CPSU Central Committee.

When talking about the press, we have in mind not only central publications but also the enormous sector of several hundred newspapers produced from local party publishing houses' facilities. In this connection I would like to say that many serious campaigns and actions initiated by the central party press have not been supported and developed as they should at local level.

The party press' adaptation to the demands of the market is a serious problem. The press has been the first to be plunged into the harsh free-for-all of market relations. The sharp increase in prices for paper and communications and printing industry services has substantially weakened the very economy of the party press. I think that the task of examining the entire list of publications produced from our printing facilities has become urgent.

The problems of increasing the effectiveness of the party mass media can only be resolved by common efforts. It is necessary to increase the responsibility of Communists working in newspaper and journal editorial offices, television, and radio at central and local level; furthermore, there can be no acceptance of the fact that some of them are essentially working against the party. Party press party committees must be more principled in such cases.

The speaker went on to inform the conference participants about the work to prepare a draft new CPSU

Program. Its elaboration presupposes making an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the party's historical path and ideological heritage, disposing of theoretical tenets that have not been confirmed in practice, taking account of all the changes that have taken place in our country and the modern world, and correctly determining the CPSU's leading trends, political objectives, and central points of departure. We are, therefore, talking about the self-determination of the CPSU in the new conditions, its political complexion, its present and future. All this will require in-depth and comprehensive discussion and active and effective participation by every Communist in preparing the draft program.

Following the report A.S. Dzasokhov answered numerous questions relating to party policy in the field of interethnic relations, the Union Treaty and the future of our federation, the work of the mass media in the conditions of a market economy, the social and legal protection of Communist journalists, party training, the reorganization of party scientific institutions, and others. The conference is continuing.

New Prime Minister Pavlov Profiled

PM1601145191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[M. Berger report: "Valentin Pavlov—Candidate for the Post of Head of the Cabinet of Ministers"]

[Text] At the 14 January USSR Supreme Soviet session USSR President M.S. Gorbachev named his candidate for the post of head of the Cabinet of Ministers. He is USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov. In his speech the president also said that he had offered this post to Yu.D. Maslyukov, but the latter had asked to be employed in the defense industry. M.S. Gorbachev reported that the post of first deputy head of the cabinet had been offered to V.V. Bakatin, but Bakatin had replied that he could be of greater benefit in the Security Council.

Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov was born in 1937 and is a Russian and a member of the CPSU. He graduated as an economist from the Moscow Finance Institute. He is a doctor of economic sciences. He began his labor activity as a rayon financial inspector. He worked in the apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Finance, first as an economist but later as first deputy minister. He directed a department at the USSR State Planning Committee. In 1986 he became chairman of the USSR State Prices Committee. He is chairman of the All-Union Economic Society.

V.S. Pavlov came to public attention in 1986, when he was appointed to the post of chairman of the State Prices Committee. In an interview for IZVESTIYA in August of the same year he spoke quite scathingly of the existing price formation in the country. "It was cheap manpower that predetermined the backward nature of the infrastructure's development, making us suffer so now. And the following happened: It was nearly always easier and cheaper to supply an extra five or 10 people than to mechanize a process... We adopted them (the new purchase prices in agriculture—M.B.) not as a consequence of realizing the need to replace the development model and to impart a new function to prices. There was simply nothing to be done..." Answering a question as to whether the State Prices Committee would officially announce particular price rises or whether people would learn of this by chance, from rumors, V. Pavlov said at the time that, in his opinion, there must be no truths "for official use" and that henceforth the public would learn officially of any new price.

Exactly three years later, this time as USSR finance minister, V. Pavlov declared in another IZVESTIYA interview: "For the duration of my work (in the USSR State Prices Committee—M.B.) there was not a single direct increase in state retail prices." Setting forth his program in his new post as finance minister, he advocated the priority development of value, tax, and credit instruments for managing the economy, the creation of a financial market, and the management of that market. To restore the population's trust in the state as a financial partner, he immediately proposed paying off in full the old debt on loans from the forties and fifties.

Formulating the fundamentals of his program in PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK, the new USSR finance minister pointed out that he "intends to concentrate the sector's efforts on fundamentally new areas of work so as to get away from cost-based means of funding and giving credit, more quickly assimilate economic, cost-accounting methods, secure on this basis an increased return from every ruble, and really accelerate capital turnover on the basis of developing socialist commodity-money relations."

Delivering the report on the USSR State Budget for 1990 in the fall of 1989, V. Pavlov spoke optimistically about the prospects for financial recovery and for improving the budget as a whole. "The current process of progress toward financial recovery is gathering momentum," he pointed out, although at the same time he added: "But it has not yet led and could not have led in such a short time to qualitative changes."

In the report on the draft plan and budget for this year V. Pavlov painted a harsher picture of the situation and prospects and made a critical assessment of the competition, as he put it, among various organs of management—from enterprises to Supreme Soviets—in raising monetary incomes. "Everyone shares, but few people talk about creation and work."

The appointment of a key figure in the present government to the post of head of executive power will, to all appearances, signify the continuity of the current economic policy, although it cannot be claimed with absolute certainty that things will be precisely as they are and not otherwise. In any case, you cannot describe the economy's situation as enviable and, thus, the working conditions for the new cabinet and its head.

During the session the president also named his candidates for the posts of first deputy prime ministers: V.Kh. Doguzhiyev and V.M. Velichko. As the president said, the candidacies for the cabinet have been discussed widely, notably in the Federation Council and the CPSU leadership.

Pavlov Answers Questions

LD1501145991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1215 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov to foreign and domestic correspondents in Moscow on 15 January—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Valentin Sergeyevich, when presenting you to parliament yesterday, the president described the tasks facing your cabinet as exceptional. Why are they exceptional?

[Pavlov] They are exceptional in that they are dictated by extreme tension in society as a result, in the first place, of economic problems. I think we can hardly recall a period in the last 40 years, for instance, starting from 1950, when the country was actually reducing the amount of output and consumption. Of course, this in itself could not but create very serious problems in society as it is one of our focal sore spots today. In many places, people have lost confidence in the future: in their work, in everyday life, and a whole series of other similar features surfacing in our society. I do not wish to say that they are all-embracing, but these are nevertheless new problems for our society and most of us do not as yet know how to combat.

Furthermore, these are exceptional tasks from the regional ethnic perspective. We are faced with the problem of nationalism, differences in understanding the right to self-determination, and I would say the aspiration for each to decide for himself. The contradictions between the mass awareness, on the one side, and the awareness of those groups and individual leaders claiming to lead and understand the truth, have created a whole number of such exceptional features demanding a very punctilious and at the same time rapid solution.

To be sure, our country is in the midst of exceptional events, and these are augmented by the difficult situation stemming from the complications on the international scene. Our country, today turning around and trying to take out equal membership of the international community, cannot—as you will yourselves understand—remain unaffected by those profound and complicated contradictions that have become so much more acute because of the Persian Gulf situation.

[Correspondant] Valentin Sergeyevich, how do you view relations with the republics?

[Pavlov] There is no reason to suppose that, if we were able to find a common language before, in spite of all the contradictions naturally stemming from the economic relationship, so to speak, and the redistributive relationship, then the same should apply in the future, only more so. The way I see it, the disagreement sometimes seen between the union and the republics on the economy has no serious economic basis to it. Because, whatever the conditions, the fundamental economic relationship is forged between enterprises, and not between the Councils of Ministers of the union and the republics.

[Correspondent] As you know, various Western countries are currently reviewing their economic aid to the Soviet Union following the army's actions in Lithuania. What do you think: what effect will this have on the economy of the Soviet Union and on the improvement in its health?

[Pavlov] I have always regarded this aid—and particularly food aid—not as an economic factor, so much as a socio-political factor attesting to the new way of thinking and to the fact that we really have begun regarding one another not as enemies, but as friends. And in time of trouble we are prepared to extend the hand of aid to one another. Because from the economic standpoint...well, what can I say? The whole of the food aid rendered by, say, the FRG is the equivalent of feeding Moscow for a single day—and even then not fully! You can see, then, the level of the effect this issue has on our economy.

[Correspondent] Boris Fedorov, your recent colleague at the Finance Department, called the policy pursued by the previous USSR Cabinet of Ministers a policy of improvization. Moreover, he admitted that the Russian government was acting in exactly the same way. In your opinion, is there anything fundamentally different that you, as a politician and businessman, can do?

[Pavlov] I can say only one thing: that before one tackles something, one should have a clear impression of what is involved. That is the first thing. And then once one has started upon something, one should fight to the end. I have therefore always thought that abandoning the team, especially at difficult times, does not serve to enhance a man either in human terms or in business terms. The situation had to be soberly appraised. How did the situation arise? It came about from two objective prerequisites, essentially that, on the one hand, to turn the economy toward the individual, time and money are needed. Investments are needed, because to cut production of tanks or submachine guns tomorrow—you're not going to start handing out pensions to pensioners in the form of Kalashnikovs, are you?—One has to invest money and start to produce something else, precisely what is needed and what can be given to people in the form of resources, so to speak, to raise the standard of living. That is one situation.

The second situation is the fact that people are tired of waiting and believing in promises. And therefore those parliamentarians who came to the union supreme soviet (?from) the republics, krays and oblasts, have come from the heart of the people and in this sense have brought with them all the pain and difficulties accumulating

there today. To put it quite simply, they have come with a real idea, so to speak, of the problems of our people, and they know the people sre tired of waiting. And thus a certain vector has emerged, one which I would describe not as antagonistic, but as variously-oriented, a vector between desires and possibilities. This, I think, is a sickness most parliaments get over very quickly. I should say that awareness, above all, of the fact that a significant part of the shortcomings lies in the mistakes of the Supreme Soviet itself, shall we say, is clearly evident in its work. And this gives one hope, in general, that we shall together start rapidly to put the situation to rights.

[Corrrespndent] What market measures does the Cabinet of Ministers intend to take in the near future, if they have any such intention?

[Pavlov] We very often, as you know, take one step forward and two steps back, in fact. Therefore, it seems to me, there are today several very urgent questions for the market. Among them, I may tell you, one of the most urgent questions is how to bring about the destabilization and privatization of property. Because, the way I see it, the spontaneous process occurring today in an unorganized fashion at local level is, as it happens, a response to the center's silence. Meanwhile, in the midst of all this rumpus and initiative, some pretty good pieces are slipping away into not totally honest, grubby hands.

[Correspondent] What specifically does your cabinet—or do you as head of the cabinet—intend to do in the immediate future? In the next 100 days, say?

[Pavlov] One of the steps will be to lay down what I would call the ground rules. To make decisions so that enterprises could begin to prepare - and actually make - the transition to the market. We will probably adopt a whole series of decisions connected above all with the creation of an economic stabilization fund. And one of the central issues here is the work of the fuel and energy complex.

Commentator Critiques New Premier, Cabinet

LD1501195691 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS World Service commentator Andrey Orlov: "Cabinet of Ministers—Continuance and Renewal"]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Valentin Pavlov, endorsed as Soviet prime minister on Monday, is said to have been a good boxer in his younger days. As the new head of the Soviet Government he will certainly need some of the skills he acquired in this rough sport: quick response, aggressiveness and the ability to withstand attacks.

Valentin Pavlov, 53, like John Major of Britain, moved from finance minister to prime minister, but did it at a critical time for his country. Six years of Soviet reforms changed the USSR's image beyond recognition abroad but gave little if anything to consumers at home.

Moreover, the trial-and-error method at the basis of the Soviet leadership's attempts to reform the unwieldy Soviet economy yielded economic instability and plummeting living standards.

Many Soviet and foreign economists blame all this on the complete disruption of the state financial system controlled by Pavlov until Monday.

Although in his first speeches the new prime minister sought to distance himself from ex-Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's economic policy, Pavlov's personal responsibility for the state of the economy is undoubted.

He will need great efforts to improve the country's state and his own image.

Is there hope? Much will depend on the cabinet (whose functions and powers are not yet absolutely clear). But much more depends on external factors which are hard to forecast. These factors include first of all the development of the situation in the country and abroad. The tug of war between Moscow and Soviet republics must end, the Lithuanian problem needs to be finally settled and the crisis of Soviet economic relations with the surrounding world needs to be resolved.

Pavlov, the first-ever professional economist to head a Soviet Government, has extensive experience which can come in handy, as both his supporters and his critics agree. Both also agree that his "obedience to instructions from above" and lack of consistency—as manifested in the hasty introduction and likewise hasty rescinding of higher transport tariffs and diesel fuel prices under pressure from trade unions—are his major drawbacks.

Another rebuke Pavlov has heard often was for delay of the country's 1991 budget, a delay which brought the country to the verge of economic collapse. A leading economist said Pavlov was in opposition to new principles of forming the budget and to granting greater powers to Soviet republics. Gorbachev's personal intervention was required this January to resolve the budget crisis and to coordinate standpoints with the leaders of republics in the Federation Council.

The "new" cabinet of ministers, as it stands today, dramatically lacks new people. The Soviet president who pledged to form the cabinet on the principles of "renewal and continuance" has so far preferred the latter to the former. He apparently believes this is what the country needs in the present crisis.

Yanayev on New Cabinet, Gorbachev Visit

OW1401101491 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1232 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Interview with Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev by NHK Moscow correspondent Kobayashi; interview conducted in Russian with Japanese subtitles; date, place not given; from "NHK News 21" program—recorded]

[Text] [Yanayev] The new cabinet needs personnel equipped with both passion and business capabilities. One of the drawbacks of perestroyka is a deficiency of capabilities among leadership personnel. Whereas adaptation to the new environment is important in transitioning to a market economy, many are working from force of habit.

The most serious crisis in the Soviet Union is one of power. The president, the legislature, and the administration are not functioning adequately. In many instances, even if the Supreme Soviet adopts laws, local assemblies adopt different decisions and subordinate organizations do not obey government orders.

[Kobayashi] Who will replace Foreign Minister Shevardnadze if his resignation is accepted?

[Yanayev] The foreign minister has expressed his intention to resign, but he still has not stepped down from his post. His resignation awaits a Supreme Soviet decision. I think that it is still unclear whether he will actually resign.

[Kobayashi] Is everything going well in preparatory work for the president's visit to Japan?

[Yanayev] Preparations for President Gorbachev's visit to Japan have been progressing satisfactorily. He will visit Japan as scheduled, around the time when cherry blossoms bloom. The preparation of documents to be signed in Tokyo is also making steady progress. However, the president is not Santa Claus. It is impossible to resolve a problem pending for several decades in a single spell through one visit. Great expectations have been placed on the president's Japan visit. In meeting these expectations, a forward-facing posture on the part of both countries will be important. What we need now is to lay the psychological groundwork for the visit.

Estonia's Ruutel on Presidential Power

91UN0675A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 52, Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, conducted by Aleksandra Lugovskaya during breaks in the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies; date not given; published under the rubric "Presidential Power": "'Heaping Blame for the Problems That Have Arisen Only on the President and Demanding His Removal From Office Is Fundamentally Wrong'"]

[Text] [Lugovskaya] How did you personally receive the proposal concerning a vote of no confidence in the president of the USSR?

[Ruutel] I took part in the voting and was "against." Such an approach is for me unacceptable, and I categorically rejected it, with very disagreeable feelings here. The president is an inviolable personality in any country—large and small. It was incomprehensible to me why this issue was put to the vote at all. Had it been a question of the president of the USSR's violation of the Constitution, that would have been a different matter. But what happened here induces serious reflection: Every deputy may, consequently, come and raise the matter of no confidence in the president? Both today and in the future.... Although this is not possible in principle, there is the precedent, nonetheless. And, further, criticizing is one thing, but heaping the blame for the problems that have arisen in policy and the economy only on the president and demanding his removal from office is fundamentally wrong.

[Lugovskaya] Nonetheless, what led to this situation?

[Ruutel] I have great respect for M.S. Gorbachev, who took on the entire burden of perestroyka and has borne it all this time. It was clear at the very outset that difficulties were inevitable. Carrying such a serious process through "swimmingly" in a vast country with different national interests, economic conditions, and historical and cultural traditions is simply impossible. Even if everything is depicted in "point-to-point" theory, there will in practice, for all that, be breakdowns. And this needs to be remembered. I remember well a meeting with Estonian journalists immediately following the CPSU Central Committee plenum when M.S. Gorbachev announced the policy of perestroyka. Some 600 of them, an entire camp, were assembled at that time, and I said with great enthusiasm that a new era was beginning in the Soviet Union. They received my words with skepticism: All Soviet leaders, on taking office, they said, speak fine words about democracy. But I was not mistaken at that time. And for this reason I understand full well how difficult it has been for M.S. Gorbachev, whom I personally have always supported. Of course, there would have been fewer difficulties had more rights been released "downward" from the very outset. In that case even today the republics would not be "functioning" so diligently and struggling in this way against the central authorities. But things need to be viewed from the other side also: The USSR is a country where the localities have always functioned only according to the bidding of the center, and having done with this approach all at once is difficult. The more so when the economy is in recession. Therefore when people now voice no confidence in Gorbachev.... Although I am not at all disposed to indict Deputy S. Umalatova.

[Lugovskaya] You, a person who is without doubt well informed and highly conversant not only with politics but also political games and who knows the makeup of the forces in both the Union parliament and here at the congress, evidently see such events in their true amplitude. I do not doubt this because even in terms of your job you have to follow them precisely to implement them in your policy. What do you think: What was really the case? A lone deputy's voice or a well-considered action?

[Ruutel] This matter was probably well thought out in advance. Its purpose? To shape at the congress from the

very outset a spirit showing that all six years of perestroyka have been the wrong path and that it is time to embark on entirely different matters. And the attempt of the deputy from the CPSU, S. Umalatova, was not isolated—many began their speeches with the same charges.

[Lugovskaya] What kind of forces are these?

[Ruutel] It is hard for me to judge, but one conclusion suggests itself. Until recently the party had absolute power: it reached down to every enterprise and farmstead and lower even—the party controlled each individual. And suddenly a multiparty system is beginning to operate virtually everywhere. Control has been lost. For example, in our Estonia there are about 15 registered parties alone, and the Communist Party no longer controls anything.... I myself have never feared this, quite the contrary—as far as it has been within my power I have afforded people every opportunity to say what they want. Both in respect to me and to the republic's problems. I believe that this makes it possible to balance the political forces in Estonia and proceed more tranquilly and naturally along the path of the democratization of society. The possibility of freely expressing one's opinion and also the time factor are molding a certain cohort of new politicians. Under these conditions they either merit the respect and support of the people or compromise themselves in their eyes. The words spoken at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies are, most likely, the same thing, and there is nothing wrong with this. But living through this complex time is very difficult, of course.

[Lugovskaya] You are obviously interested in M.S. Gorbachev remaining in office, as before. What hopes do you link with him?

[Ruutel] I have already said that I have supported M.S. Gorbachev from the very outset. The Estonian people now expect that he will rectify the historical injustice perpetrated in respect of Estonia by Stalin's Soviet Union. I spoke about this from the congress platform also and I believe that many people understood me correctly. We are demanding full independence and the opportunity to be an independent sovereign state. Then we would readily consent to political, economic, and any other agreements. And if Gorbachev honestly proceeds along the chosen path to the end and recognizes the rights of all the peoples of the multinational state of the USSR, he will be supported by the whole world. We are now at the start of the road that we have to take willy-nilly because there is simply no other. There is nowhere else to go—only toward mutual respect. By all peoples. And the guarantee of this process should be international law.

[Lugovskaya] The speeches of politicians and statesmen expressing an intention to "rebuff the USSR" are seen more often now in the Baltic press. It coincides with the Baltic Council's viewpoint. On the other hand, reports have appeared in the central news media concerning the desire, of Lithuania particularly, to acquire in Germany weapons "inherited" from the GDR. Is this true?

[Ruutel] When we are fully independent, we will, naturally, look to obtain some weapons from the USSR, we participated in their manufacuturing together with everyone else. Except for nuclear weapons, even if foisted on us by force. But a dozen or so armored personnel carriers, Kalashnikov assault rifles... we should be able to obtain these. We will have to guard our borders somehow. But as far as information that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia arming themselves is concerned, I fear that such talk is to show our peoples as evil and aggressive.

[Lugovskaya] How do you evaluate the situation in Latvia—how confrontational is it and with what consequences is it fraught? Is the Baltic Council capable of stabilizing it?

[Ruutel] I believe that the local Russian intelligentsia should have its say here primarily. Chauvinistically-minded people cannot be permitted to control such mass processes. The Latvian nation's right to self-determination should be respected. After all, Latvia, as a state, was a member of the League of Nations and with the aid of weapons was eliminated as a state. The republic has been overpopulated this time, if the process is viewed objectively. And to interpret it in another way, the overpopulation was deliberate—in all our republics. At first the construction of enterprises, then the importation of raw material and manpower.... From outside. No people should behave thus with other peoples. And the Russian intelligentsia should be saying this. Clashes? I do not believe that people have weapons in Latvia. A. Gorbunov has a pistol, possibly. Even then I do not know if he has one or not. I have, for example.

[Lugovskaya] What awaits us in the new year? Not political forecasts but events.

[Ruutel] I have already said that all peoples and states of the USSR should proceed by one road—honestly, respecting one another. But it is the actual application of such a program that is most difficult. The good sense of statesmen, primarily of the USSR, is needed. But those who head oblasts, regions, and republics must be responsible also. We need to call on the politicians for prudence—not shoot at one another, not resort to violence, and not lord it among one's neighbors, but live in peace and harmony.

[Lugovskaya] But, after all, much will depend on you yourselves, on the policy of the Baltic republics?

[Ruutel] We will tell the truth on behalf of our people. And there is nothing more for us to say. Maintaining that the small Baltic peoples are arming to shoot at others is the most dishonest thing that could be said. What could the explanation for their armament be if everyone knows that the Soviet Union has the most powerful weapons in the world? So this is not nor could it be an issue.

Islamic Revival Party Leader Interviewed

PM1601163191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with Valiakhmed Sadur, member of the Islamic Revival Party Council of Ulemas, by correspondent V. Skosyrev—place and date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction: "Under the Green Banner; Is There a Threat of Islamic Fundamentalism?"]

[Text] Islam is perhaps the only world religion experiencing a rapid upsurge. Not only the number of mosques is increasing. The influence and authority of politicians who have taken up the green banners of Islam are also growing. The victory of Khomeini's revolution in Iran is part of history. But there are also two quite new examples: In the elections in Algeria, supporters of Islam defeated the party that had been at the helm of state for 25 years; in the elections in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto's party was defeated by the Islamic Democratic Alliance. Finally, one must not forget Afghanistan, where the Mujahidin (fighters for the faith) proved to be an awesome opponent for one of the most powerful armies of today.

Naturally, the "Islamic boom" could not fail to affect our country as well. Today our correspondent's questions are answered by Valiakhmed Sadur, member of the Council of Ulemas (theologians and legal experts) of the Islamic Revival Party, formed in 1990.

[Skosyrev] What are your party's objectives?

[Sadur] We have tried to reflect our party's main objective in its name. We want Islam to be revived in places where it has been banished, and to spread the religion in regions where people are ignorant of it entirely or have a distorted perception.

Another of our tasks stems from this: To protect true believers from persecution, deliberate lies regarding our faith, and misrepresentation arise from a poor knowledge of Islam. In other words, our aim is to do everything possible to ensure that people can live by the Koran and Sunnah (a holy tradition held to complement the Koran—V.S.).

[Skosyrev] How many members does your party have?

[Sadur] Our party has more than 10,000 members. Most of them are in Central Asia and the North Caucasus. Our all-union party's three regional organizations reflect the distribution of Muslims in the country: Central Asia, where the majority are Tajiks; the Caucasus, where Dagestanis and Chechen-Ingush predominate; and the European part of the USSR and Siberia, where almost all are Tatars. The Central Asian and Caucasian groups are official organizations: They have held constituent conferences. No such conference has been held yet in the European part of the country. Our organizational committee is registered in Moscow but the party is not yet registered, as the this registration only officially began in the new year.

[Skosyrev] A number of theologians are of the opinion that believers should not be members of political parties at all. It is no coincidence that such a fervent Muslim as Pakistani President Ziaul Haq, who died two years ago, banned political parties and held elections on a non-party basis toward the end of his rule. Do you not feel that you are deviating from the behest of the prophet by combining Islam with politics?

[Sadur] Our prophet Muhammad—may God's peace and mercy be upon him!—began by organizing a Muslim community and departed for a better world, having created a strong state. Is it really possible to create a state without becoming involved in politics? Of course not. It is true that our tasks are far more humble. We have no thought of creating our own state—we simply want to protect the interests of the Muslim minority in the Soviet Union. The official imams and mullahs appointed by the state are not in a position to do this.

[Skosyrev] As I understand it, you have a negative attitude to official mullahs. But the activities of the unofficial clergy are not so innocuous, after all. In Dushanbe, in particular, as Tajik President K. Makhkamov pointed out in an interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, preachers played a significant role in the tragic events of February 1990.

[Sadur] Our party rejects violence. Our program states that the party "works on the basis of constitutional methods and condemns the methods and practice of terrorism and extremism and all forms of discrimination."

[Skosyrev] These are fine words: Such a declaration can only be welcomed. But what sometimes happens is this: The central leadership of a political party is full of good intentions but "hotheads" at grassroot level act quite differently....

[Sadur] According to the Holy Koran, God commanded believers to say the word "peace" to prophets and envoys of God and to everyone who wishes to follow the path of truth; the same word should be said when bidding farewell to the faithless. Surely it is not possible that a religion that so condemns liars and urges believers to speak of peace could really mean something else? Violence and extremism are condemned outright in Islam.

[Skosyrev] As an ulema, you are undoubtedly well familiar with the postulates of your own faith. Let us take a look, nevertheless, at what happens in real life. You surely would not deny that followers of radical Muslim trends (they are usually known as fundamentalists in the West) resort to violence time and again. Take their murder of Egyptian President Sadat or the taking of hostages in Lebanon, for example.

[Sadur] But why do you single out Islam and ignore the crimes committed by followers of other religions? If you make a simple statistical calculation of crimes connected with human rights violations, you will not find any great

difference in the number of these crimes in Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Colombia, or Burma.

[Skosyrev] Iraq justifies its occupation of Kuwait by saying that it is waging a holy war against U.S. imperialists and other infidels in the name of Islam. How do you regard Iraq's actions?

[Sadur] The Iraqi troops' invasion of Kuwait cannot be seen as a holy war permitted by Islam, as Muslim is fighting Muslim. It is said in the Koran: "It is not befitting for a believer to kill another believer, unless this is done in error.... Whoever kills a believer deliberately shall have hell as his retribution, where he will burn for all eternity." In my opinion, supporting this invasion is tantamount to rejecting Islam's love of peace that I have just been talking about.

[Skosyrev] Let us talk about Islam and democracy. As far as I understand, the Shari'ah does not recognize either independent judges or freedom of speech. Modern Muslim leaders who try to apply the canons of the Shari'ah to contemporary life demonstrate intolerance of heterodoxy. An example of this is the death sentence passed by Imam Khomeini on the writer Rushdie. This raises the question of whether Islamic procedures are compatible with the principles of liberal democracy.

[Sadur] According to the Shari'ah, a judge must be dependent only on God and, like any other Muslim, must fear no one but God. He is guided by the Koran and Sunnah when passing judgement. If this proves insufficient, he may appeal to the unanimously expressed opinion of authorities or resort to analogy, comparing the matter he is considering with the Koran and Sunnah. There is no higher authority over Shari'ah judges to prohibit them from saying what they want—as long as their words are not at variance with the Koran and Sunnah.

As a rule, religious leaders are not in power in countries with a predominantly Muslim population. So they are not in a position to deprive citizens of freedom of speech.

[Skosyrev] Nevertheless, as a literary specialist by profession, what do you think about the Rushdie case? Surely it must jar on you when a writer is denied the right to life purely because of what he has said on paper?

[Sadur] I do not have the right to say a great deal about Rushdie's book, because I have not read it—I have only held it in my hands. All I can say is that one cannot fail to admire the loyalty to his civilization that Khomeini had retained, despite his long stay in the West. The fact of the matter is that the pursuit of creativity does not release a Muslim from his moral responsibility to society. Rushdie broke this commandment by writing a work that is not just amoral but sacrilegious in respect of the prophet—may God's peace be upon him! It is comparable to desecrating graves. If that is liberal democracy, we are against it. Although I personally am against the death penalty for creating works of art.

[Skosyrev] The Shari'ah not only rejects freedom of speech—it rejects equality for women as well. When you talk about protecting Muslims, do you not also intend to protect the old orders depriving women of many rights—rights which, in law at least, they currently enjoy in our country?

[Sadur] The emancipation that has been introduced in our country under Western influence has resulted in women's alienation from the home and the family. We can see how family and marital relations are collapsing and how children are suffering because of this. Islam works on the basis that women's main role in life is to look after the home and bring up their children. Naturally, the rearing of children requires women to be educated: The education of women in the Muslim world is given no less attention than the education of men. This allows women to hold quite high posts: They can even become prime minister. You can compare this to the role of women in the highest echelons of power in our own country.

[Skosyrev] It seems that religion is now partially filling a spiritual vacuum. But what is it leading to? I am concerned by the influence of radical Islamic ideas, taking root in neighboring countries and in the Soviet Union's Asian republics. Does this not carry the threat of a new totalitarianism for them?

[Sadur] There is certainly a spiritual vacuum. But it is being filled—not unsuccessfully—by fakes preaching all kinds of "oriental" cults, sorcerers, magicians, people engaged in extrasensory practices, and so forth. As far as I am concerned, this is unacceptable. It is quite another matter when the desire to gain a firm moral support leads people to religion. Those to whom Marxism-Leninism did not give an opportunity to openly realize their interest in religion are becoming true believers. The growing number of Muslim believers is a sign of the times. At the same time, it confirms the undying devotion of the peoples of the Soviet East to religion, this has always been a basic element of their culture.

As far as the threat of a new totalitarianism is concerned, I cannot see any possibility of it penetrating our country from the Muslim East; I do not know of any examples of cultural expansion or any other kind of expansion from that region. Moreover, I can say that in our pro-Western euphoria we forget that some Muslim countries are economically very strong and could give us assistance on more favorable terms than the West, if only we were to stop ignoring their potential as partners.

Moreover, I feel that talk of a new totalitarianism is unfounded, when the old totalitarianism is thriving in the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan. Unfortunately, the press is more concerned about human rights violations in the Baltic and Moldova than about the ban on our party's activity in Tajikistan, that could be described as a violation of the right to political activity on religious grounds.

CPSU Secretariat Assesses Rostov Farm Work

PM1101173191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[CPSU Central Committee Press Center report on undated sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat: "The Party and the Rural Economy"]

[Text] The first question beginning the first sitting in the new year began was perhaps one of the most acute and burning. Difficulties in supplying the population with food are perceptible both in Moscow and in other cities in the country. What needs to be done so that the volume of consumption of food products is not reduced this year, and so that their production in coming years is increased steadily? What economic transformations should be made in the countryside for this purpose? How can the established production potential be used more effectively to increase food resources?

The participants tried to find answers to these and other questions through the concrete example of the Rostov Oblast party organizations. Inviting those present to collectively seek ways to resolve urgent problems, O.S. Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that the activity of this oblast party organization in a mixed agrarian economy account for the political guidelines of the 28th CPSU Congress and is of undoubted interest to all party organizations.

Those present were convinced of the justice of what was said when they heard the report by V.T. Suslin, first secretary of Rostov CPSU Obkom [Oblast Party Committee]. He stressed that the obkoms are proceeding on the basis that the most realistic way toward the reliable and stable agro-industrial complex in the transition to market relations lies in developing the mixed economy. Without a transition to diverse forms of ownership and management methods and creating equal opportunities for their development today, it is difficult to change the situation in the food market. It is on this top-priority area of agrarian policy that the efforts of the oblast's party committees are concentrated.

Many specific examples were cited in V.T. Suslin's speech testifying to the direct participation of many rural party organizations in enabling the peasants to establish themselves as masters of the land with an interest in the final results of their labor. This also applies to the development of lease relations within enterprises, cooperative organizations, and personal plots.

Has anything come of these measures? Yes, a great deal. In 1986-1990 the gross annual agricultural output increased by 14.5 percent compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan. The sale of grain increased by 59 percent, sunflowers by 39 percent, cattle and fowl by 24 percent, and milk by 13 percent. The level of profitability of output last year was 38 percent.

Citing convincing data, co-reporter Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Department, who heads the group studying this question, noted that in Rostov Oblast work has been stepped up significantly on making efficient use of diverse forms of management. The obkom, gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [rayon party committees] are directing organizational and political work primarily toward convincing communists and all people working in the countryside that the transition to new methods of management and a mixed economy is the most realistic way of making sure that there is enough food. It is important that the obkom managed to stimulate the efforts of the ideological aktiv, representatives of scientific-research institutions, and practical workers to organize the training of cadres and the elaboration of recommendations and normative documents.

While paying tribute to the Rostov Oblast leaders for establishing a mixed economy and boldly assimilating new forms of management, V.I. Chernoivanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, criticized them for not delivering enough agricultural products to union stocks.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye.S. Stroyev, who participated in the discussion of this matter, also highly rated the Rostov Oblast people's efforts to establish the requisite organizational and economic prerequisites for raising agroindustrial production to a higher level of development. However, he also revealed a number of omissions and lacunae. According to the Central Committee secretary, the Rostov Obkom has failed to give priority to the problems of the social reorganization of the countryside. Of late the average annual volume of nonproduction construction in the oblast has fallen by 17 percent compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan, 20 percent less housing has been constructed and 15 percent fewer highways built. Good results in economic transformations are possible only if party committees exercise a real influence on the solution of questions connected with the provision of facilities for people, the speaker said.

The problem of establishing a mixed economy requires special attention, CPSU Central Committee Secretary B.V. Gidaspov said. What is a farmer, after all? He is both agronomist and livestock expert. Moreover, he needs the proper technological infrastructure. The plan has to provide him with seed stocks, chemical services, and other agricultural organizations. All this has to be thoroughly worked out.

CPSU Central Committee Secretaries V.M. Falin and G.V. Semenova and CPSU Central Committee Secretariat members I.I. Melnikov and A.I. Teplenichev also participated in the discussion of this matter.

Summing up the discussion, O.S. Shenin proposed a positive appraisal of the work Rostov Oblast party organizations are doing to promote the establishment of

a mixed agrarian economy. In view of the aforementioned proposals, party committees were recommended to use political influence to contribute to restoring the original form of cooperation in kolkhozes and developing family, peasant, and personal subsidiary plots. The priority of tasks of reorganizing the countryside, improving peasants' working and living conditions, and developing the agricultural products processing base was emphasized.

The Central Committee Secretariat session examined drafts of eight new CPSU normative methodological documents. They include five instructions and three statutes. They were elaborated in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee October (1990) Plenum resolution. It was decided, taking into account remarks made at the Secretariat session and subsequent editorial amendments, to send the drafts of the documents to CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission members and to local party committees. The aforementioned instructions and statutes are to be submitted for examination by the upcoming joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The Central Committee Secretariat considered a question connected with the implementation of the plan for political organization measures to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee December (1990) Plenum and also approved the Secretariat's work schedule for the first quarter of 1991.

A cadre matter was considered. The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee's proposal on confirming K.U. Ukin, former chairman of Kuystanay Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, as first secretary of the Turgay party obkom was accepted.

Lenin Said To Be Incorrect on Religion

91UN0672A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 8 Jan 91 p 3

[Article by Georgiy Kunitsyn: "Hope Is Never to Blame"]

[Text] *Today under our new rubric "Circle of Communication" we have an article by the philosopher Georgiy Kunitsyn. This name is familiar to many readers: He is one of the Soviet social scientists who through his works laid the basis for perestroyka long before April 1985. This man's destiny is extraordinary: It was discussed in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in an essay entitled "And Those Who Had Taken a Vow of Silence Became Leaders" published on 13 May of last year. G. Kunitsyn's statements published below were made in a conversation with our special correspondent Irina Medvedeva. The fact that these notes are fragmentary merely points up the expansiveness of the subject addressed: the revolution—morality—us...*

They are shouting everywhere: The October Revolution was an exceptional and random phenomenon. It entailed too many victims and too much blood, it goals were not achieved, and it would have been possible to do without it completely...

That is not true! Yes, it was tragic. But it was tragic to the extent that any revolution is tragic. After all, it was a "contradiction between historical and urgent just demands and the impossibility of meeting them." That is what Engels said. Let us recall this and take a look at other revolutions—all of them, before emerging victorious, suffer many defeats along the way. The British revolution was under the dictatorship of one individual for a long time. And this was a defeat of its ideal. Only after they achieved—150 years later!—a democracy, albeit compromised, only then did the revolution come to an end. And France? We think that the revolution began there in 1789 and ended in 1793. Is this not a good myth about the brief duration of a revolution? But that was only the first round. But after that there were a half a dozen more revolutions until the democracy was established in 1871—100 years later... So is our October, which has lasted more than 70 years and is continuing, an exception? After all, we are still only moving toward democracy...

But perhaps our revolution was random? That is wrong too. It had to happen. It did not ask anyone! If someone ended up at the head of the revolution, it was merely because this "someone"—the Bolshevik party in particular—tried to express the interests of those who had already taken the offensive. The war over the land began in the summer of 1917—over the equalizing peasant partitioning. It was necessary to respond to this, and the revolution did with the Land Decree. The peasants did not want any better or greater democracy than to divide the land up equally according to the number of mouths there were to feed. And this predetermined the first step of the revolution.

Were the people on top the revolutionaries who were at the head of the revolutionary process? Here too our revolution is like the others. Alas, all great ideas in mankind so far inevitably have a tragic destiny: Ideas are created by great people, but they are carried out at the top levels of command more frequently by individuals who are of an incomparably lower caliber. Lenin was not subject to mistakes to the same degree that those surrounding him were; he counteracted them and avoided many of them. But as the leader of the revolution he ended up, for various reasons, at the sources of what subsequently led to terrible tragedies and sacrifices. Now this is declared to be almost deliberate villainy. That is a lie. The people acted within the framework of necessity as they understood it, being convinced that they were doing a great work. Incidentally, that was the case... The sad thing is that these great deeds are accompanied by great mistakes as well. The Bolshevist party with Lenin at its head drew a quite incorrect conclusion regarding religion. It violated many unique, specifically Russian principles and circumstances, and not immediately but ultimately the full extent of the consequences was revealed. We have what we have: moral decay and,

moreover, a spiritual crisis. That is what ultimately happened. And we should have proceeded from the fact that the church in general and as a whole was loyal to Soviet power. It proceeded from the principle that God is the source of all power...

But the Soviet power approached the church unfairly, ignobly, criminally, and even thoughtlessly. Because nowhere, under any circumstances, from any situation does it follow that religion should proceed against the revolution, or the revolution against religion. Moreover, Christianity itself—as we know—appeared as the first form of socialism. Neither the church itself nor the great Russian thinkers denied this. Vladimir Solovyev and Nikolay Berdyayev tried to prove that this is the most natural form of socialism. And when the new, so-called proletarian socialism came out against religion—all this became unnatural. After all, religion means morality, it means reliance on a uniquely understood truth, but still truth, it is reliance on beauty, and in the larger perspective it is always the highest order... If this were not true, an endless number of believers would have walked away from the revolution.

Lenin's mistake regarding religion might be explained by the fact that he proceeded exclusively from the notion that religion—Marx had written about this even earlier—is the "opiate of the masses." That is, both of them approached it exclusively from the standpoint of materialistic rationalism: There is no god...so professing him means deceiving the masses. But the ideal of mankind did not develop exclusively from Truth, but also from Good, Beauty, Faith, Hope, and Love—all that forms happiness. This general humanist idea—that man is born for happiness—was far from the center of attention. Emotion, so typical of our national character, is at the head of all the actions we take—was also driven out. What resulted? Disenchantment and deprivation of moral supports.

Yet the revolution and the church could have become allies. Aleksandr Blok presented this idea in bare form in "The Twelve": "...Wearing a white crown of roses, in the front was Jesus Christ." The sensitivity of the poet guessed what awaited the politician behind the seven seals: The revolution stood for equality—and the church did too; the revolution was for justice—as was the church; the revolution (at least in its proclamations) was for morality—and the church... If one follows this line, only "ratio" [Latin—reason] counterposes the revolution and religion, and this counterposition played a fatal role in our revolution. There were other mistakes as well, and even if they did not ensue because of the departure from religion, they were added to it and, on the whole, led to the defeat of the revolution. For decades we convinced one another that it had succeeded, but even then, having broken with religion, it suffered defeat, resulting in the counterrevolutionary turning point—Stalinism—closer.

Incidentally, not all faith departed with the departure of religion. People cannot live without faith! Especially when the foundations of their previous religiosity are being undermined. Faith will come to replace it in any case, but this new fanatical faith in socialism turns out to be even less well defended than the faith in God. Faith in general is defenseless. When many people fall under a certain form of enthusiasm, as it were, a faith in a false hope, they reject everything they formerly believed in with even greater conviction than those who have been more consistent in their views. The immense masses therefore believed in the slogans of the revolution, sincerely filling their spiritual vacuum with a new religion that was antireligious in nature. And this caused appreciable harm to the traditional, stable phenomena of their past life.

The pride of the national character suddenly became hypertrophied and began to turn into its opposite. For a thousand years the country had developed on a communal basis and this had a multitude of positive aspects, but with the destruction of religion the thread stretched to the deification of power, the cult of power, and from there—to disgusting lordliness, on the one hand, and to a no less disgusting servility, on the other. How this took root during Soviet times, how it developed! How human individuality was killed by the surest method! Instead of the citizen, comprising the basis of the individual, we had an immense number of conformists and toadies.

And if one adds to this the objective circumstances? The 20th century has placed everyone in extremely difficult conditions: Wars—civil and international—have continued to mow down people—the young and the best. Our country has lost a total of 65-70 million people. And add to those the unborn, and another generation of unborn, and another... We have more of our population "up there" than we have living. But this is also a blow—and a colossal one—to our people! The ratio itself has been violated—between talented and untalented, active and passive—and all on the negative side...

Our moral reserve was almost fatally wounded. The revolution itself lied a lot, but if Lenin fought to keep the lies to a minimum, Stalin arranged his actions on the most improbable lie: Just take the "Brief Course in the History of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)"... It was as though the revolution began to suffocate of its own accord... Incidentally, it had not been a revolution up to this point: It was also a counterrevolution when the great idea was taken up by various epigones or simply criminals and scoundrels passing themselves off as revolutionaries.

We have never been so close to accomplishing a revolution as we are now. Historically, we are close to the point when we will finally have democracy. So much has been done in this direction that we are not yet in a position to evaluate what we have accomplished. Out of inertia we still complain about the condition of our society (and in many respects it has not been very successful), but abroad they are almost ready to consider us the most democratic country. And all because we have extremely rapidly reached the point of abolishing all restrictions on

the expression of positions, ideas, thoughts, feelings—as long as this does not go beyond the limits of the law.

As if because this movement toward democracy is so fast—this, in spite of everything, is the main indicator of the fact that our revolution is coming close to victory. To be sure, complete freedom bears a contradiction within itself: The ideals of socialism may be replaced—and they are actively being replaced (for the destructive forces have gained new freedom as well) by the ideals of the bourgeois society.

What does this mean in the minds of certain people? The elimination of Soviet power. They can envision our country civilized in only one form: If universal civilization is bourgeois, then we must be a bourgeois country. This is a great danger. But I am prepared to show that we have old traditions—particularly communal and collectivist ones—to keep the country from listing to the side. At the congress, for example, the deputies spoke out in favor of retaining the name of the state: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And if they put it to a nationwide referendum people would be even more likely to vote for it: Among the people there are many more who defend socialist ideas than it sometimes seems... Many people nowadays are bothered by the fact that crime is on the rise. People are speaking up: Where is the militia? But it is not increasing because they are doing a poor job of fighting it, rather because little by little bourgeois processes are taking place in our society, inevitably generating crime as such. Americans live immeasurably better than we do, but in terms of crime, they surpass us... It cannot be eliminated in a society with entrepreneurial initiative. It will be mandatory that one will be exploited to produce earnings and the other will put a pistol to his head and say: "Hand it over!..."

We have had all kinds of moral and immoral influences in our history. We have never had enough pure human material. But still the rejection of God outweighed everything. I am an atheist, but I have always respected and still respect the rights of those who believe in something. Belief in something is not to blame in and of itself. The same is true, incidentally, of Hope and Love. These are the conditions, the qualities of the human soul are not subject to any explanations, not to mention persecutions. One can say how these positive or negative qualities will behave in certain circumstances, but one cannot judge a person because he believes, hopes, and loves! When people in our country lost faith and hope and, in many cases, also love—and all of these are interconnected—they became uncontrollable, and they couldn't care less... This comes from lack of faith. It is good in all cases when a person believes that he will be living tomorrow and forever; the idea of immortality itself has never caused any harm. This is why the present disagreements must also be transferred to the sphere of discussion and not to the sphere of battles. Our revolution made an immense mistake by focusing on violence. The violence was even more terrifying in Stalinist times when endless numbers of our own people were destroyed, people who believed in Soviet power and helped to establish it. This evil knows no equal. And as a result, even what we considered the victory of the revolution turned out to be its defeat. The victories were based on violence and lies. The people in general stopped believing. And this is quite terrible! This is a shame! Because human catastrophes are never capable of degrading the idea. Sooner or later mankind will still arrive at the ideal of social justice. We must not forget that the solution lies in the ideal! It is impossible to live without an ideal—annihilation of ideals never bears fruits.

And religion—any religion—has prevailed because it contains an ideal... I am convinced that there is a turn toward the socialist ideal in the rest of the world as much as in our country. And the others will arrive at it sooner than we—who have lost so many human lives and lost our faith for its sake. We too some day will have our spiritual rest and take a new look at our revolution and its ideals—for they too have remained unrealized... And the revolution itself is a tragedy and not a crime. And this being the case, it is also a catharsis, a purification for mankind, savings—and has already saved!—hundreds of millions of people from repeating our problems. And we shall find expiation of our guilt in the purely Christian action: suffering for others!...

Radical Political Movement Leader Introduced

AU1401160991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jan 91 p 6

[Interview with Valeriya Novodvorskaya, "leading figure" of the Democratic Union, by Jaromir Stetina, LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent in Moscow; place and date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Without Compromise"]

[Excerpts] They are called extreme radicals. For years their demonstrations at the Pushkin memorial in Moscow used to be dispersed by the militia and their newspaper, SLOBODNOYE SLOVO, used to be confiscated. They call themselves Democratic Union. Some call them "the irreconcilable." Our correspondent asked Valeriya Novodvorskaya, the leading figure of the Democratic Union, for an interview. [passage omitted]

[Stetina] You recently demonstrated against the Nobel Prize for Gorbachev. Why?

[Novodvorskaya] The situation in the USSR is very similar to the situation in Germany in 1933 before Hitler came to power. I cannot rule out anyone—even the Yeltsins, Popovs, and Sobchaks represent no alternative. They all are potential fascists just like Gorbachev and have the same tendencies, they can only hide them better. [passage omitted] If mankind now falls around Gorbachev's neck it means that it has not understood anything, that it has not learned anything from its previous defeats. [passage omitted]

The main principle of our struggle is to stop living a lie. There can be no consensus, no compromise, no reconciliation here. This struggle must be fought to the end. And there can only be one end—either this fascism will engulf the whole world or mankind will manage to destroy fascism inside itself. [passage omitted]

[Stetina] The Democratic Union upholds the idea of civil disobedience. Can this idea strike roots in the Soviet Union?

[Novodvorskaya] Civil disobedience can hardly become a mass phenomenon. The way out of total evil is the building of a civic society and the acquisition of human and civic dignity. Only then can a revolution—that actually never occurred here—take place. This is what happened in Czechoslovakia, in part, one year ago. [passage omitted]

[Stetina] You have been jailed several times....

[Novodvorskaya] Five times before perestroyka, twice under Article 70 and once because of leaflets we sent to Czechoslovakia after 1969. Since perestroyka I have been to prison 16 times, each time for 15 days. I am now awaiting another proceeding. I am actually grateful for it. [passage omitted] The only thing I want to have in common with this system is confrontation. [passage omitted]

[Stetina] What are the main aims of the Democratic Union?

[Novodvorskaya] The Democratic Union was set up on 9 May 1988. Its main objective is to bring about a change in the social system by revolutionary-democratic means. This means a political general strike, the overthrow of political power, and transition to parliamentary democracy by way of the creation of a constitutional assembly. The Democratic Union seeks no conciliation with [the holders of] power. It stands on its barricade—leaflets, lectures, political analyses, demonstrations [sentence as published]. We are not waiting for the people, who are totally unprepared.

We stand on our barricade for the cause of freedom, not for a piece of sausage. Our people are incapable of rising up for the cause of freedom, but they are even incapable of rising up for a piece of sausage. They spend long hours waiting in line and do not even have the strength to gripe. The Sovietologists who speak about a civil war do not know what they are talking about. [passage omitted] Should there be a pseudo-revolution in this country, it will take the form of some leader, Yeltsin, for example, handing out bread crumbs and warm breakfasts and placing himself at the head of this mass, of this protoplasm.

During transition from one formation to another, political programs are implemented by the will of the people. I beg your pardon but what can a political party do when this will is lacking? It can only speak the truth. [passage omitted]

Lawyer Comments on Solzhenitsyn 'Error'

91UN0643B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 51, Dec 90 p 9

[Article by lawyer Lev Zaverin, under the rubric "SOYUZ Legal Service": "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Error"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has published A.I. Solzhenitsyn's statement announcing his refusal to accept the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Prize. Among other reasons that had led him to make this decision was the following: "Thousands and thousands of former prisoners live the remainder of their lives either without pensions at all, or on the beggarly ones, since the **convict labor in GULAG camps had not been counted in their length of service.**"

Aleksandr Isayevich has incorrect information regarding length of service regulations. However, many of those whom he mentioned in his statement may not know their rights, either. That is why I offer this clarification.

Since the second half of the fifties persons who had been unlawfully convicted and later released, either on the grounds of having criminal charges against them dropped, or by reason of acquittal by the court, had the time spent in incarceration counted in calculating their general length of service, as well as their professional length of service.

In particular, when rehabilitated citizens are eligible for preferential terms or preferential size pensions, the time they spent in incarceration or in exile is equated—by their choice—either to the job they held before the arrest, or the job they held after they were released.

If during the incarceration a citizen—later rehabilitated—worked at the production facility, shop, or in a profession or position that normally would make him eligible for a preferential term pension, and he has an appropriate document to prove it, this period is counted as eligible service towards preferential pension, regardless of the type of work this citizen had held before the incarceration or exile, or after his release.

In those cases where the proper documentation proving his work at certain production facilities, shops, or professions or positions is not available, the character of his work while serving his term may be certified by the corrective-labor administration of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on the basis of witness testimony.

This is the way it was determined by the old law. The new laws "On USSR Citizens' Pensions" and "On the RSFSR State Pensions" specify that for citizens who were unlawfully convicted, repressed without reason, and later rehabilitated, the time spent under arrest and the time of incarceration and exile is counted in triple for the purposes of calculating length of service in determining the pension size.

I do not think that Aleksandr Isayevich will change his mind after this clarification. Much remains to be done for those who went through the torture of Stalin's camps. The decision on material compensation for citizens who have suffered from repression, is being unjustifiably delayed. But these people should be aware of the rights they already have today.

Editor on Solzhenitsyn Volumes' Status

91UN0643A Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 49, 7 Dec 90 p 6

[Interview with Vadim M. Borisov, member of the NOVYY MIR editorial board and editor in chief of the NOVYY MIR publishing center, and A.I. Solzhenitsyn's literary agent in the USSR, by KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE correspondent G. Kuzminov; place and date not given: "Books Will Save NOVYY MIR"]

[Text] *The fate of the seven-volume edition of A.I. Solzhenitsyn's works that had been promised to all subscribers of this most authoritative domestic magazine as its book supplement, the fate of the magazine itself, and its future publishing plans are the subject of a KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE correspondent's conversation with Vadim Mikhailovich Borisov, member of the NOVYY MIR editorial board and editor in chief of its publishing center, who is also A.I. Solzhenitsyn's literary agent in the USSR.*

[Kuzminov] Vadim Mikhailovich, more than a year ago you informed our readers of the new book supplement to NOVYY MIR. As is known, there have been some developments in this matter, but the readers demand to know the details...

[Borisov] The story of the seven-volume edition of A.I. Solzhenitsyn's works (the author called it "short collected works") is essentially the story of the NOVYY MIR publishing center's creation...

At this time of economic confusion, many had thought this idea unrealistic. True, it sometimes seemed that the difficulties were almost unsurmountable... At first we had tried to get large state publishing houses interested in our idea, to get this program off the ground through joint efforts—after all, we were talking about a 3-million printing run! However, the era of "realistic socialism" had not developed a propensity for "common cause philosophy" among our publishers, so the idea of association fell through.

Many potential partners—the owners of paper, printing equipment, etc.—had been turned off by the noncommercial nature of this undertaking: They found our firm insistence on putting a price cap on each volume (five to seven rubles) unacceptable... Another serious blow was the refusal of monopoly state organizations—"Soyuzpechat" and "Soyuzkniga"—to distribute this edition to our ever-patient subscribers.

But—"with God's help"—we found people who care about more than just profit... They helped us to get together the paper, and the necessary distribution system. Issue No. 7 of NOVYY MIR, should have its full printing run completed before the end of the year—now everything depends on whether the IZVESTIYA publishing house will keep its word—and will have a subscriber card insert for those readers who wish to subscribe to this book supplement. We plan to wrap up the subscriptions in February 1991. However, if IZVESTIYA delays printing, we will extend the time for subscriptions.

[Kuzminov] Please remind us of the contents of the seven volumes.

[Borisov] The first two volumes contain "Circle One," novel; the third volume, all of Solzhenitsyn's short stories; the fourth volume, "Cancer Ward," short novel; and the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes, "GULAG Archipelago." Quite possibly, the subscribers will receive these last volumes first, since letters from readers indicate that the interest towards "Archipelago" is especially high. We hope to complete the edition in the beginning of 1992.

[Kuzminov] Tell us more about the publishing center plans.

[Borisov] The first book we published (for A.T. Tvardovskiy's 80-year anniversary) was "Terkin in the Other World" (a 1-million printing run). We are also publishing "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." We also decided to revive the tradition of charity publishing work. Our first experiment of this kind is printing 300,000 copies of the same Solzhenitsyn works that are included in the "short collected works," but as separate books of higher quality and at higher price (eight to 10 rubles per volume). The income from this printing will be used to print a mass edition of "GULAG Archipelago" that will be distributed free to surviving former political prisoners.

[Kuzminov] How are you going to locate them?

[Borisov] We have an agreement with the "Memorial," putting together the address lists of such people. When the books are printed "Memorial" will also handle the mailing.

[Kuzminov] In 1991, NOVYY MIR will become an independent publication. Does this mean moving away from the tradition of a noncommercial thick literary magazine—one of the highest traditions dying out in this world?

[Borisov] Culture will have to learn to defend itself to survive in this new economic reality, and to keep its ground. For this purpose, we have created a project to establish a closed cycle in magazine and book publishing. In particular, we are planning to publish the "Red Wheel"—A.I. Solzhenitsyn's main work on the prehistory and history of the Russian revolution. We have

similar plans for publishing the All-Russia Memoir Library, founded by A.I. Solzhenitsyn.

We also plan to publish books of other NOVYY MIR authors: Victor Astafyev, Andrey Bitov, Vladimir Makanin... We are compiling a book that will include the materials from the NOVYY MIR rubric "From the History of Russian Social Thought." For this book we have already received advance orders from a number of world Slavic studies centers.

[Kuzminov] Vadim Mikhailovich, your plans are very impressive. However, they also bring out some doubts...

[Borisov] Only those who do nothing are safe from failure. Besides, we count on our current partners. It is also important that the Russian government recently showed interest in NOVYY MIR plans. I had a meeting with Russian Prime Minister I. Silayev and with M. Poltoranin, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister on publishing and mass media. They both expressed a desire to help with implementation of our program.

Bonner Wants Sakharov's Name Off Nobel List

LD1601122191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The widow of Academician Sakharov, having learnt of the events in Vilnius has addressed the Nobel Committee. In a statement citing his testament, she said on behalf of Andrey Dmitriyevich: Resting on his will and twice confirmed trust, I request that you strike the name of Andrey Sakharov from the list of Nobel Peace Prize laureates. I consider it impossible for it to stand alongside the name of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. He, Yelena Bonner continued, as the head of state, bears responsibility for the bloodshed in Karabakh, Tbilisi, Baku, Fergana, Uzin [as heard, presumably means Uzgen), Osh, and also responsibility for the present events in Lithuania which are being played through according to the scenario of Berlin in 1953, Budapest in 1956, Prague in 1968, and Kabul in 1979. Their tragic similarities fully reject the presence of new thinking, stressed the widow of Academician Sakharov, Yelena Bonner.

Economic

Finance Minister Opposes Salary Freezes

914F0106A Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 52, 24-31 Dec 1990 pp 2-3

[Interview with V. Pavlov, USSR minister of finances, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Freezing Wages? I Am Opposed!"]

[Text] [NEDELYA] Valentin Sergeyevich, persistent rumors are going around about a wage "freeze" that is supposed to be coming. What can you say about it? What is the position of the USSR Ministry of Finances?

[Pavlov] I may disappoint some people with my answer. After all, rumors do not arise by themselves as you know, and a certain goal is behind this instance too: To subject our policy to criticism, including financial criticism, to give an additional stimulus to passions and emotions, and to distract people from urgent matters.

I often have reason to talk with the press on the occasion of such rumors and to prove that white is white and black is black. For example, I am even somewhat amazed that you do not ask me about monetary reform. That rumor about us is very widespread. And each time I respond that no, there will not be monetary reform. We are not prepared and are not getting prepared for it. At times I note that they do not believe me and that they suspect me of "deceiving" them. One gets the impression that it is profitable for someone when such rumors live a little longer and continue to carry out their unseemly and slanderous role.

The wage "freeze" belongs to this same type. I can assure the editorial board of NEDELYA and the readers of the newspaper that we have no such intentions, if it is a question of the position of the USSR Ministry of Finances, and that we could not possibly have such intentions. That position is firm. In fact, do we really look like people who vote for the transition to the market with one hand and with the other cancel out its very foundation—wages, the mighty lever for stimulating economic initiative and free enterprise? No, and no again.

Once we have made our final choice for the market and restored goods-and-money relations to what they should be, any type of administrative prohibition on economic and financial activity, including wages, would sooner or later put an end to it all.

It is another matter that the transition to a market, as a process of a truly radical restructuring of the system of economic relations, cannot be carried out immediately and by decree alone. We would be naive people to act in such an oversimplified manner. Previous experience of half-measures and patchwork decisions that have, in essence, led the economy and finances into an impasse compels us to act cautiously and with consideration and, step by step, to resolve the numerous problems that crop up on this path.

[NEDELYA] What kinds of problems should be resolved first?

[Pavlov] Among the most important economic and financial problems is the task of carrying a reform of wages that will remove all limitations on the cost of labor. The quantity and quality of labor should be allowed to determine value. Obligatory state rates on wages are preserved in order to guarantee a minimum wage level of social protections for the worker. There are no limits on the maximum wage. Questions of the level and choice of the forms and systems of wages and the awarding of bonuses are decided by the enterprises and

labor collectives themselves within the bounds of the money earned. We share and support this approach to wage reform.

The break with the old economic structures and the transition to new principles of management that has begun have influenced the level of wages significantly. Over the last five years they increased by a factor of 1.5. Does that seem favorable? In part, yes. But, let us try to analyze the situation and ask ourselves whether an equivalent increase in the living standard took place. There is only one answer, I believe—it did not.

There is no secret here. The whole paradox is that the increase in wages more often than not takes place against a background of stagnation of production and even a decline.

Look at what is happening this year: Over nine months 13 billion rubles [R] less national income was produced than last year, while wages increased by R31 billion. Where did we get the money? From nowhere. It was all from that same printing press. Emission of money for the year is calculated at R22-25 billion at a time when we only planned R10 billion. In essence, this is a new attack on the living standard, a further imbalance in the consumer market, and a stimulus to the inflationary spiral.

One asks what is to be done. Cry "Guard!", return to the old system of "all stick and no carrot," freeze wages, and seize deposits (there are also such rumors)? Crying, obviously, will not help. And prohibitory methods come to nothing.

Only one thing remains. Apparently we must stop and, as our great forefather said, look about us and distinctly imagine that we are spontaneously and, for the present, unfortunately, inexorably following the path of self-cannibalism and eating up that which we should have stored. Naturally, I do not have ready remedies for all of life's events. But the most important thing today is to stabilize the work of the enterprises, halt the recession, and move to an increase in the production of material goods.

And, of course, it is hardly worth competing—in electoral organs from the enterprises to the supreme soviets—at promises that are not backed up by anything in reality or at the desire to distribute a little more of what we do not have and what we have not created.

[NEDELYA] What about financial policy?

[Pavlov] It too should be included in our armory and put to use filling the market with goods and backing up the ruble. We absolutely must carry out state regulation of monetary circulation. This, incidentally, is how it is done all over the world. But the instrument of such regulation should not be the outdated order from above or wage "freezes," but methods that are more flexible and inherent to the market itself.

One of these that we hold in the highest regard is state tax policy. Through our policy we will carry out tax regulation of the process of raising money directed for consumption. In no manner does that mean limiting the level of wages.

For example in 1991, when calculating the base quantity of expenses on wages in order to determine taxable profits on the cost of production, there is a proposal to include expenditures based on an amount of average monthly wage for workers of not more than R400 per month. Do you wish to pay more? Fine! But the difference will have to be paid using that portion of the profits that remains with the enterprises after payment of the tax. In short, using what was really earned. I believe that this will be fair, help improve the market, and dispel difficulties in monetary circulation.

[NEDELYA] Is your point of view shared in the government?

[Pavlov] In this case I can answer briefly—yes, it is. I do not remember our ever discussing the issue of whether to launch an attack at the level of wages. Such a policy, if it were adopted, is irrevocably doomed to failure.

Shape of New Budget Viewed

914A0309A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Jan 91 p 1

[Report by A. Kozhakhmetova on speech by V. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning and Budget-Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union: "Budget Law Discussed"]

[Text]*For two days members of the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed the article of the USSR Law on the Union Budget. Yesterday the law as a whole was adopted by a majority of votes and they began voting on it article by article. This year 250,157,450,9000 rubles [R] will go into the state treasury—this is the figure given by the USSR Government.*

What the present fiscal year will be like is discussed by V. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning and Budget-Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

I understand that the people are waiting for a clear and precise answer from the country's legislature to the questions: Will our life be easier or not; will they continue to patch up holes in the budget or will the situation stabilize? If you try to link the budget to any reality such as the empty shelves in the stores, you can say one thing: We should take and reduce the expenditure side of the budget by 60-70 billion and the shelves will immediately fill up. But this will "hit" the population, and very hard. Therefore we intend, on the one hand, to encourage in all ways those items and directions that are related to increasing the production of food products and consumer goods. And, on the other hand, we have envisioned measures for compensating the population for losses that are inevitable during price hikes.

I think that this year will be a turning point. For since we have decided to proceed toward the market, we must proceed consistently and stably, and not in spurts. We must lower prices and untie the hands of the enterprises. There is no other way out because with a budget of approximately R600 billion, almost R240 billion goes for subsidizing the production of food products and clothing. It is clear that this is a heavy burden for the budget. We should lower prices and use these R240 billion for increasing wages, stipends, and pensions. And we should not give any subsidies to enterprises operating at a loss because this additional payment is the source of our helplessness, our disorganization, and our lack of desire and inability to work. Why strain ourselves if we know that the state will make up for our losses?

Of course, the question of prices is the most painful one. It is possible to raise wholesale prices "painlessly." But as soon as the changes reach the retail prices—people accept reforms "at the point of a bayonet." What should we do? How do we explain to the people that we cannot get around raising retail prices in any case? And this will not be simply a sharp, administrative increase. I repeat, we must drop prices, make them free, and compensate the population for losses. But not the way they did it in Lithuania: They raised prices three times and the compensation was miserly. Everything must be balanced. This is the only way we will avoid a social outburst.

I am gratified that the budget conflict between the Union and Russia has finally run its course. An agreement has been signed whereby the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] will transfer to the Union budget not R23 billion, as was stated at the end of December, but a total of R150 billion. I think that this should put an end to the "war of the budgets," and so this year we will live without disturbances.

As concerns the subject of "The Budget and Military Expenditures" that is bothering everybody—both voters and deputies—I wish to tell the readers of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: They are getting worked up over nothing. Our gross national income will be approximately 97 billion, and this year it is planned to spend about nine to 10 percent of this sum for military needs.

The legislature has adopted the law on the budget as a whole. But here is a quite predictable question: How realistic is this budget? I shall not oversimplify the situation since a number of economic ties have been broken, as a result of which many enterprises have been turned upside down. But it seems to me that these problems will pass in 1991. The market laws on taxes, enterprises, and property will go into effect. A Union treaty will be signed, which will finally determine how the budgets of the Union and the republics will be formed.

Strike Committee Head Details Strike Policy

914F0109A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 2

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Gukanov, chairman of the General Strike Committee of the Country, by Aleksandr Krotkov; place and date not given: "On the Map of the Workers' Movement—Strike Committee Against Strikes"]

[Text] Aleksandr Gukanov is a well-known personality in the workers' movement. He was spoken of for the first time several years ago when, after being nominated inspector of the oblast children's fund, he, an SMU-6 [Construction and Installation Administration] assembler from Perm, appeared on local television with an expose of local fund managers who shamelessly squandered public money, spending it and getting drunk, as he declared, on orphan's tears. As a sign of protest against such an outrage against the idea of charity, the worker declared a three-day hunger strike. This was followed later by an impartial discussion with Albert Likhanov, who quipped that he had enough inspectors, he said, even without Gukanov. Of course, after such a statement, there could be no question of continuing work in the fund.

We again heard of Aleksandr last summer. He became one of the most active organizers of the general political strike on 12 July, he made the rounds of oblast enterprises, and spoke before people like himself, workers.

And then at the recently held congress in Moscow of representatives of councils of labor collectives, strike committees, and workers' unions, he was elected chairman of the All-Union Strike Committee of the Country.

My first question to Gukanov:

[Krotkov] In your opinion, what is in store for the workers' movement in the coming year?

[Gukanov] Still greater politicization. Now many are predicting a drop in political activity among the workers who are tired from the exhausting strike, rallies, and the games of the political parties. Really, the fatigue is evident. But its consequence, I am convinced, will not be political apathy, but political scrupulousness, maturity, and prudent decisions...

[Krotkov] In this connection, what are the intentions of your committee? To strike? Its name alone commits it to this.

[Gukanov] The prerequisites for an all-Union strike are there. The situation itself in the country can make it necessary for the workers to take extreme measures. However, we will use maximum efforts to see to it that our demands first get to the authorities and, afterwards, that a reasonable dialogue follows, and that production is not halted immediately.

And these are not merely words. For example, owing to the concerns of our committee, it was possible not long ago to prevent a strike of Moscow flour carriers who were in a very resolute mood.

[Krotkov] This sounds like a paradox: A strike committee against strikes...

[Gukanov] There is no paradox here. We simply are for the coordinated actions of the proletariat of the country, and we are convinced that local spot strikes only weaken and disorganize the workers' movement, creating chaos locally, and inciting the state to dictatorship. Taking us one by one, it is not difficult to "break" us, but together we are a force.

In addition, the forms of expressing protest can also be different. For example, at the end of last year, drivers of Moscow's 16th bus vehicle pool, demanding an increase in wages, rejected what at first looked like an enticing undertaking to stop work. On the appointed day, all of them, each to a man, drove out onto the line, but... they blocked off the ticket machines in the buses into which the passengers push their tickets. As a result, transport worked properly and owing to this, it was possible to avoid a dangerous clash of interests between the drivers and the workers of many enterprises in the capital, who got to their shifts on time without incident. But on the other hand, not a penny got to the treasury. And the administration of the motor pool, in coordination with city authorities, made important concessions to the drivers.

[Krotkov] All of this is fine. But do you not think that the demands that are heard more and more frequently about increasing wages, even if they are fair, do not contribute very much to the country's getting out of the crisis? Because they lead to an increase in the expenditures side of the budget, which even without this is filled with holes. Is it not better to achieve an expansion of economic independence, which will make it possible to receive higher wages owning to an increase in profits?

[Gukanov] It is this, in fact, that a majority of the members of the general strike insist upon. At the second congress of the STK [Council of Labor Collectives], we first and foremost defended the idea of self-government, in contrast to those who reduce everything to a transfer of enterprises to the property of labor collectives.

[Krotkov] It would be interesting to know the reason for these differences. Many economists think that the path of removing state influence, which some STK's support, leads to a dead end. They say, it was already tried once in Yugoslavia, but it did not result in anything worthwhile. And the alternative to state property, they say, can only be private property. Do you agree with this?

[Gukanov] One's choice in favor of one form or the other of property can be made only after verifying its effectiveness in practice. We have still not had such an opportunity in our country. As for myself personally, I am not against joint stock enterprises that the labor collective owns entirely. I am against the usual monopoly in the form of property and against an artificial narrowing of the scope of choice on the way to independence.

I am convinced in general that monopoly is the chief tragedy of our country. It is monopoly that makes it impossible to introduce a normal market economy into the Union, one that is based on competition in commodity production. It is monopoly that makes it possible to produce such an organized, I do not fear this word, sabotage in the output of essential goods. And it is not necessary to turn the screw, as is called for by numerous adherents of **Order**, but to demonopolize the national economic structures of the state.

[Krotkov] Given the existence of different forms of property, how do you assess the requirement to turn to the practice of labor collectives electing managers of enterprises?

[Gukanov] The solution is to reject a single iron rule for everyone: only to elect or only to appoint. Let there be variants.

I will say further: It is not only the workers who have a need for a defense of their social rights, but also the managers of enterprises who in some places have already become victims of a "lack of limits" on workers.

[Krotkov] I must admit that it is somewhat strange to hear such words from the mouth of one of the leaders of the workers' movement.

[Gukanov] There is nothing strange here at all. I repeat, we are for a broadening of the rights of workers, but by no means for their monopoly of power which destroys the balance of forces and interests of all interested parties. For the lawlessness of a director can become no less a brake on the way to the prosperity of a plant than the lawlessness of a labor collective. And, consequently to impact on our, worker, interests.

As for the workers' movement, of which you categorize me as a leader, I want to clarify how I personally understand this movement. Many today try to judge and to lay down the law for strike committees, presenting them in the role almost of rebels who are striving only to seize power, who take over all imaginable and unimaginable functions, who kick up a row, and who hold rallies recklessly. Like the priest Makhno...

I will not argue that there are excesses in the workers' movement. However, if you look at the root, it only represents new trade unions that are in the formative stage, and which have appeared because the people have lost faith in the ability of state trade unions to defend their interests effectively. It would have been possible, of course, to call them trade unions right from the start. But this word itself is too compromised. And when a miner, a chauffeur, or a builder goes to our committee, he knows that he will be met there by his brother—a worker.

We are fighting for our professional rights, whose consideration under conditions of a market economy can become a powerful guarantee of a crisis-free development of society.

And this says everything.

New Miners' Union Deputy Chairman Interviewed

914F0103A Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Jan 91 p 2

[Interview with A. Sergeyev, deputy chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Independent Trade Union of Miners, by TRUD correspondent A. Kozlov; place and date not given: " 'We Have Chosen Our Path'"]

[Text] **The second congress of miners proclaimed itself the constituent congress of the USSR Independent Union of Miners. Therefore, one more trade union appeared in the coal industry. TRUD correspondent A. Kozlov discussed its goals and tasks with A. Sergeyev, deputy chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Independent Trade Union of Miners.**

[Kozlov] Aleksandr Andreyevich, was it necessary to form a new trade union? Perhaps, it would have been better to seek changes in the operation of the existing trade association of coal miners, if need be.

[Sergeyev] In the course of the 1989 and 1990 strikes, the miners tried to ensure that their demands were met, counting on the help of the trade union and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] as well. However, we believe that, having verbally supported our demands, the leaders of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers and the AUCCTU did not actually help us in any way. All attempts to "get the Central Committee going" and make it perform the functions for which it was set up were in vain. In general, as they say, the strike opened our eyes to the words and deeds of that trade union. The miners understood that it could not be expected to provide protection, and this is why they had to defend their interests on their own.

How was this to be done? By strikes alone? But this measure is not always acceptable, and is even harmful if frequently practiced. Other methods are needed. At a congress of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers, the miners attempted to forge it into a militant organization—they adopted a new statute, changed the action program, and attempted to change the leadership. However, people from the previous "team" remained "at the helm." It turned out that the shop sign was new, the papers were new, but the deeds were old. All of this compelled the first congress to raise the issue of an independent trade union.

[Kozlov] What distinguishes your concept of the operation of your union of coal industry workers?

[Sergeyev] Miners, construction personnel, employees of trade, culture, and agriculture, as well as the directors of mines and the minister, belong to the trade union of coal industry miners. Can the interests of all these categories of employees be reconciled? Who is going to protect trade union members and against whom if the minister is also a member of the union and sits on its leading body?

It is known that in most countries of the world trade unions are organized in order to fight the owner, the employer, to ensure fair wages and normal working conditions. In our country, these issues are ranked the least important (and it is unclear who is to be considered owner). To this day, the distribution of housing, slots in day-care establishments, all kinds of benefits, participation in managing production, indoctrination of the working people, combating alcoholism, and so on are still the most important matters, despite the fact that economic and state organs are supposed to handle all of this.

We tried to avoid all of these mistakes when we created our union. We are a mass organization of the employees of mines, strip mines, pits, coal-dressing plants, and other enterprises of the mining industry. The main task of our union is to oppose the employer, that is, the state, and, in the future, also other owners and employers.

For many years we were told that we, the workers and peasants, were the masters of our country, and that property in the USSR belongs to the entire people. However, in 1990 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Law on Property, and it turned out that it no longer belongs to the people: Its greater segment belongs to the state, and its smaller segment belongs to various public organizations, including the CPSU. Therefore, this law confirmed that certain opposition exists in our country between the state and other property owners, and hired labor. This opposition is a part of objective reality, and this is why trade unions should reckon with it and definitely take it into account in their operations.

[Kozlov] Which is the main operational goal of your trade union?

[Sergeyev] Our main task is to advocate the professional interests of miners. We will fight for fair wages commensurate with the market value of labor, which ensure a normal standard of living for our families and take into account the particular danger and complexity of the mining profession. We will seek to make the remuneration system public, simple, and understandable.

Improving working conditions and ensuring work safety so that it meets the modern requirements of scientific-technical progress and world standards are important avenues for the work of our trade union. We should not pay for every million tons of coal mined with the lives of one or two miners. We are in favor of creating an efficient system of financial support for working people whose health is injured in the process of production, and family members of miners who perish. They should live a dignified life after the loss of a breadwinner.

A sociological survey was taken at the second congress of miners. Sixty percent of the delegates spoke out in favor of making a transition to the market. This means that the task of defending the miners against the spontaneous forces of market relations, ensuring their employment, preserving jobs in the industry, and rebuffing unemployment and poverty was set for the union.

One more thing. As is known, the mining industry is concentrated in certain regions of our country. Therefore, it is necessary to develop housing construction in these localities in every way, erect social facilities, create a normal living environment, and put in place ecological defenses. Naturally, all of these issues concern us, and the trade union will seek their resolution.

What are the arrangements for achieving the goals set by our congress? First of all, we firmly intend to make the role of collective agreements, contracts with employers in all tiers (mine, strip mine, coal-dressing plant, basin, industry) qualitatively new. The "General Standard Agreement on Pay Scales of Employees of USSR Mining Enterprises" will become the main document for the trade unions. Its draft was adopted by the second congress of miners. It is called upon to regulate production and labor relations, issues of social development and support for the collectives, and fair remunerations, and to solve many other problems both specific to the miners and common for the workers of the industry. Our trade union will sign this general agreement with the USSR Government or other organs of government of the country. Incidentally, government representatives showed interest in the draft of this document at a meeting between the leaders of the executive bureau of our trade union and Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers L. Ryabev.

[Kozlov] Could you outline at least the main provisions of the general contract?

[Sergeyev] The document is designed to create and promote harmonious relations between workers, engineer and technical staff, and employers, regardless of the forms of property—private, state, joint-stock, or some other. The agreement sets forth guidelines for labor relations, the duties and responsibilities of the sides, work schedules, remunerations, work by young people, and so on. Let us look at the chapter "Overtime." It defines this notion clearly, and establishes the size of overtime pay on top of wages depending on the duration of overtime work. You will see this degree of detail also in chapters on remunerations, leaves, tenure awards, and others.

[Kozlov] Aleksandr Andreyevich, how many miners have already joined your trade union? How many primary chapters are active?

[Sergeyev] At the second congress of miners, 688 delegates out of 871 voted in favor of setting up the union. At present, these delegates are engaging in clarification work in the field. The workers' committees help them in this endeavor. We already have information about the creation of primary chapters in Pavlograd (Western Donbass), at the mines of the Krasnoarmeyskugol and Rostovugol Associations, at the Podmoskovnaya mine of the Tulaugol Association, and so on.

In other words, the process of setting up a trade union is under way; many organizational issues are being resolved.

[Kozlov] Have you had contacts with the Trade Union of Coal Industry Employees, and what are they?

[Sergeyev] Unfortunately, as far as the leadership of its Central Council is concerned, there are virtually no contacts.

[Kozlov] What is the attitude toward your trade union in the field on the part of the workers, engineer and technical staff, and the management of enterprises and mines?

[Sergeyev] Ambiguous. Many people fear that by joining the Independent Trade Union of Miners, they will lose the benefits which are usually kind of provided by the Trade Union of Coal Industry Employees: slots in child-care facilities, vouchers to resort hotels and sanatoriums, payments on certificates of disability, and so on. We try to dispel this misconception of the people. Many people do not know that these "benefits" are paid to all working people regardless of their affiliation with any trade union.

[Kozlov] Will your trade union join the General Trade Union Confederation of the country?

[Sergeyev] The executive bureau has no such instructions from the congress of the Independent Trade Union of Miners.

[Kozlov] You said that your trade union defends the interests of miners. However, people of many professions, without whom production will cease, work at the mines. To your mind, who should represent their interests? Which trade union?

[Sergeyev] The statute says that any employee of a mining enterprise, with the exception of individuals performing the functions of hiring, firing, or managing the labor force, may become a member of the Independent Trade Union of Miners.

Interrepublic Strife Obstructing Economic Ties

PM1601115591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Report by N. Shebalkov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The "Kvant" Production Association in Nevinnomyssk is a well-known firm. Its products—mainly instruments—can be found in virtually all parts of the country. And some of these instruments are produced nowhere else. In turn, the plant receives its components

from all over the place. Its extensive contacts have been built up over decades. Today they are at breaking point, threatening our society with the bitter experience of more shortages.

[Yu.V. Karabak, general director of the "Kvant" Association] For instance, the device for checking the accuracy of meters—of which we are the sole manufacturers in this country—uses quartz crystal vibrators from Dushanbe and switches from Gori and Batumi in the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. We obtain instruments from Kiev and Uman and we get our calibrating meters from Vilnius. We used to have no problems making these devices, but currently it is almost impossible to turn them out. A considerable role has been played in that by the interrepublic conflicts which are currently disrupting normal economic activity. I think that under no circumstances should we disrupt our traditional mutually advantageous contacts. If we do not receive an instrument worth 500 rubles [R] it stops us producing a device worth R20,000. It is hard to even calculate the losses we will be causing to our customer. On the whole I can say that our economic mechanism currently isn't working. And only the Union treaty will make it possible to stabilize the situation and allow us to work normally and successfully. We should place our economic contacts on a legal basis. They should be above all mutually advantageous, and we should prepare to switch to the market taking account of and under no circumstances disrupting those economic contacts which have already been established. And we must take account of the fact that, under market conditions, the proportion of enterprises engaged in production sharing should definitely increase. That means that specialization should develop too. These are objective laws of economics that we simply cannot ignore.

Article Views Proposed COCOM 'Reform'

91UF0308A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "COCOM Prepares Reform"]

[Text] Paris—Experts and high-ranking government officials of the 17 members of the Coordinating Committee for Control of Exports to Socialist Countries (COCOM) are at the present time preparing a reform of this organization.

According to a report of the Paris newspaper LIBERATION, this reform will be examined at a high-level COCOM meeting to take place at the end of January-start of February 1991 in the French capital. Its essence amounts to a complete revision of the lists of prohibited commodities and to making the rules regulating export questions as flexible as possible, and also to according the countries which, from the West's viewpoint, most consistently undertake political and economic liberalization "most-favored-nation status" within the COCOM framework. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary are among them.

No one is as yet proposing liquidating COCOM once for all. "This old watchdog," LIBERATION writes, "guarding Western technology which could be used for military purposes continues to bark." The Warsaw Pact still exists, COCOM experts observe, and although the committee takes account of the unprecedented changes that have occurred in the past year in Europe, its evolution is closely connected with the progress of disarmament negotiations. Today the West attaches particular importance to the two most "classified" spheres—technology connected with submarines and also that enabling American aircraft to avoid being picked up by radar.

The COCOM states—and this means, except for Iceland, the NATO countries, Japan, and Australia—have yet to reach agreement on what line to formulate in respect of the Soviet Union. On this matter the United States occupies a tougher position than the Europeans. Until recently Washington had, on the whole, been able to dictate its terms to COCOM. But times change. France, Germany, and Italy are demanding the cancellation of many restrictions, emphasizing that the United States frequently uses the list of banned commodities for protectionist purposes. Today Paris is proposing the compilation of new minimal lists, including only those products in respect of which there is consensus in COCOM.

At the present time, it would seem, all are agreed that the removal of COCOM barriers would be beneficial. Of course, both the Soviet Union and the East European countries sorely need the latest technology. But if there no restrictions, Western and Japanese enterprises could, according to certain figures, sign additional contracts totaling $30 billion here.

In recent months Western firms have concluded deals with a number of East European countries for supplies of the latest computer systems, which even recently would have been blocked by COCOM censors. They still have their sights trained mainly on Moscow.

Scientific

'Progress M-6' Docks With Mir 16 January

LD1601200191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1912 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Today at 1935 Moscow time, the "Progress M-6" cargo spaceship docked with the "Mir" manned complex.

The mutual search, rendezvous, mooring, and docking were carried out with the help of the automatic onboard equipment. These processes are controlled by the Flight Control center, and by the cosmonauts Afanasyev and Manarov.

The "Progress M-6" has docked with the complex on the side of the "Kvant" module. Fuel for the unified engine installation, foodstuffs, water, equipment, apparatus, and mail have been delivered in orbit.

According to the telemetric data and the reports of the crew, the onboard systems of the "Mir" manned complex are operating normally. Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov are feeling fine.

Experiments Continue on 'Mir' Station 15 Jan

LD1601010991 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov today were involved in preventive and scheduled maintenance on board the Mir space station.

They are expected to replace a block of storage batteries and test radio and telecommunications equipment.

Today's scientific research schedule includes space radiation measuring and the evaluation of effects of outer space on radio electronic equipment. Samples of such equipment are mounted on the surface of the Kvant-2 module.

On Monday, with the help of the Maria magnetic spectrometer, they performed a series of experiments aimed to study generation mechanisms of elementary charged high-energy particles and their distribution in circumterrestrial space.

According to medical tests, the cosmonauts' health is normal.

Military

Official on Military-Political Bodies in Forces

LD1601003891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1439 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—Military-political bodies in the USSR Armed Forces, troops of the USSR Committee for State Security, internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and railway troops, which are being set up in accordance with the decree of the USSR president, will become a principally new institution with state-constitutional status, Colonel-General Gennadiy Stafanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, told a TASS correspondent.

Being a component part of military administration bodies, they are subordinate to corresponding commanders. They organize work to implement state policy in the sphere of the country's defense and security, the education of personnel and the strengthening of discipline, and the social and legal protection of servicemen and members of their families the general said.

I want to stress especially, that the creation of new military- political bodies testifies to the division of state and party functions, he continued. Organizations of the CPSU in the army and fleet are now fully independent and conduct their activity in accordance with the USSR law "on public associations". Before, political bodies were the leading bodies of the CPSU in the Armed Forces, while the Main Political Directorate, in particular, worked as a department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The main direction of the work of military-political bodies, Gennadiy Stafanovskiy said, is the conduct, jointly with other bodies of the military administration, of state policy in the field of USSR defense and security, ensuring the fulfillment of tasks of combat and mobilization readiness and combat training of troops and forces of the fleet.

Another priority task of the military-political bodies is the organization of educational work, political, legal, and moral- psychological training of the troops. For this it is planned to reform the training and retraining of cadres.

We reckon, Gennadiy Stafanovskiy concluded, that sufficient specialists will soon enter the new military-political bodies and will to a great extent promote the working out of qualified recommendations to conduct effective political work.

Three Killed in Attack on Military Vehicle

91UM0266C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel N. Medvedev, USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center: "To the Last Breath"]

[Text] As was already reported, on 9 January on a highway six kilometers from the city of Lachin (NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]) there was an armed attack on an Army UAZ vehicle in which there were three military servicemen and a worker of the newspaper MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA who was on assignment in the region of the emergency. We are reporting the details.

They were fired at from point blank range near a bridge. The vehicle was literally riddled with bullets, leaving 113 holes. Major I. Ivakov, Sergeant I. Goyek, and journalist S. Askerova died immediately. Lieutenant Colonel O. Larionov managed to return several rounds from the vehicle and fired off a whole magazine of 30 cartridges, and then continued to fire 20 more cartridges from a prone position on the ground. But then he too was killed by the bullets from the ambush. The officer's finger remained on the trigger of his automatic.

During the course of the investigation, it was established from the testimony of the local residents who were following the UAZ in a truck that the bandits were wearing camouflage clothing and masks.

Moiseyev Spends Two Days Visiting Leningrad

PM1701112791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Captain First Rank A. Zlydnev: "Meetings in the City on the Neva"]

[Text] Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, was in Leningrad for two days. He met leading personnel of Leningrad Military District and the Leningrad naval base, and acquainted himself with the organization of the training process in several military academies and institutes of the Leningrad garrison.

While at the Naval Academy named for Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union N.G. Kuznetsov and the M.V. Frunze Higher Naval Institute, Army Gen. A.M. Moiseyev met the professorial and teaching staff, students of the academies, and cadets and representatives of scientific research institutions situated in Leningrad.

AWOL Soldiers Asked To Use 'Common Sense'

PM1701114791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by Major General of Justice L. Zayka, acting main military prosecutor: "The Main Military Prosecutor's Office Clarifies"]

[Text] On 10 January, citing Colonel General V. Achalov, USSR deputy defense minister, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA informed its readers that criminal proceedings would not be brought against servicemen who have absented themselves from their units without leave. In this context, the Main Military Prosecutor's Office states: Criminal cases instituted against all servicemen who have absented themselves from their units or places of service without leave or who have not reported for duty on schedule without valid reason following authorized absence [uvolneniye] from their unit, when being posted or transferred elsewhere, or on return from offickal travel, leave, or a medical institution, will be investigated in strict accordance with existing legislation.

In the examination of the question of instituting criminal proceedings against the aforementioned servicemen by organs of the Military Prosecutor's Office, the following factors will be taken into consideration: the duration of unlawful absence from the unit, willingness to return to the unit, whether the servicemen have given themselves up to organs of power or a military directorate, and other extenuating circumstances.

The Main Military Prosecutor's office calls on all servicemen who are unlawfully absent from their units and on their parents to display common sense, stop violating the law, and immediately return to their military units or give themselves up.

Press Chief on Rounding Up Draft Evaders

91UM0265A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Jan 91 p 6

[S. Kuznetsov report on comments by Major General G. Kashuba, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense press center: "For Whom the Paratroopers Are Looking"]

[Text] **A few days ago a report was published by the USSR Ministry of Defense press center on the results of the draft of citizens into active military service. On 1 January 1991 the fulfillment of the fall draft plan was: in Armenia—28.1 percent, in Georgia—10.0 percent, in Moldova—58.9 percent, in Latvia—25.3 percent, in Lithuania—12.5 percent, and in Estonia—24.5 percent. The draft plan was not fulfilled in some oblasts of the Ukraine. Overall in the country, the draft plan was fulfilled 78.8 percent. In this connection, it was indicated in the report, the Ministry of Defense is taking additional measures for the purpose of implementing the ukase of the USSR president of 1 December 1990. At the request of the SELSKAYA ZHIZN editorial office, Major General G. Kashuba, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense press center, comments on this report.**

"I will start with impressions from my last official trip. One of the main problems faced by the commander of one of the units I was able to visit was how to form the daily detail—the guard, unit duty officer, orderly... The fact is that there were not enough people. Frequently, a soldier had to be put on detail within a day of being relieved, and the unit was only 80 percent manned. The other 20 percent? This represents those who evaded the draft in the Baltic republics, in the Transcaucasus... This means that the soldiers of the unit had to perform the duty of "that guy" as well.

"It is unfortunate that this social and moral aspect of the "draft shortfall" remains in the background. Indeed, the personnel shortage is a real detriment to the combat readiness of the Armed Forces and to the defensive capabilities of the country, and it is virtually an encroachment on the safety of every family. But it is also an injustice with respect to the soldier who appeared at the military commissariat in the first callup to serve his country honorably.

"Another very important aspect of the problem is the legal one. There is an inviolable formula in any state: The law is the law. In this country we have the Law on Universal Military Service. But despite it, and despite the USSR Constitution, legislative acts were approved in some Union republics that actually urge young people to evade the draft, and servicemen, to go AWOL. Those who approved such acts, in fact, are playing with the fates of young people.

"The decree of the USSR president of 1 December 1990 established that the provisions of acts of this kind do not have any judicial force from the moment of their adoption, and that they are not binding on state and public organs, enterprises, establishments, organizations, and citizens. However, the necessary measures to restore legality and law and order in a number of places are not being applied. That is why the question of additional measures came up.

"What are these measures? Troop commanders of pertinent military districts have been issued instructions to reinforce practical assistance to the military commissariats of the aforementioned republics and oblasts in meeting the tasks entrusted to them on implementing the draft of citizens into active military service, and also to search for and return servicemen who are absent from their units without leave. Subunits from troop elements stationed on the territory of these districts will be employed to execute the indicated tasks. It is only in Lithuania that several paratroop units were also called in. Incidentally, they are already in Vilnius, deployed in the rayon of Zhirmunay on the territory of a motorized rifle unit.

"There is no question of any kind of punitive or deterrent steps, as some elements of the mass media are trying to suggest. First and foremost is the creation of conditions for the work of military commissariats and the suppression of illegal actions against them.

"Servicemen are also being employed to reinforce educational work with draftees and their parents. Because, as a rule, draft evasion is a result of disinformation, and also of intimidation and instigation. As is known, there are not infrequent cases where the very fact of the presence of a military subunit in a populated area removes the antidraft syndrome.

"It is true that, with respect to malicious "evaders," forceful measures are also not excluded. Of course, this is first and foremost a task of law enforcement organs. But what is to be done if they do not execute their functions?

"...And again I recall meetings on my last official trip. I became acquainted there with remarkable soldiers, masters at their work—Senior Sergeant V. Shavyrin, a company sergeant major, who was called up from the village of Ostroukhovo in Ryazan Oblast; Senior Sergeant Viktor Lysak, detachment commander (Vinnitsa Oblast, village of Morozovka); and Private Genrykh Grokhovskiy, vehicle driver (Minsk Oblast, village of Plebantsy). The commanders asked me to convey their sincere gratitude to parents for the way they brought up their sons, and I am doing this with pleasure through the respected newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN."

Resolution on Insurance, Hardship Post Leave

91UM0268A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In accordance with a USSR Council of Ministers resolution, from 1 January 1991 mandatory state personal insurance has been introduced for servicemen and military reservists and both rank-and-file and command personnel in internal affairs organs in the event of casualty (death), wounds (concussion) and disease occurring during the period of service (muster).

The insurance will be paid from funds allocated from the Union budget to the USSR Ministry of Defense, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR Committee for State Security, and USSR Ministry of Transport Construction (for railroad troops), and also funds from other ministries, departments, and organizations that have military formations at their disposal.

It has been established that state insurance organs will make insurance payments in the amount of R25,000 in the event of the death of an insured person during the period of service (or muster) or within one year after discharge from service (or muster) when such death results from a wound (concussion) sustained during the period of service (or muster), to his heirs (upon presentation of evidence of their right of inheritance).

When it is established that an insured person has become disabled in connection with his service (or muster) within one year after discharge from service, the sum of R15,000 will be paid to Group I disabled persons, R10,000 to Group II disabled persons, and R5,000 to Group III disabled persons.

In the case of an insured person who sustains a serious wound during the period of service (or muster) the sum of R1,000 will be paid, and in the case of a slight wound, the sum of R500. In the case of a member of the military in a compulsory term of service and of military reservists who are declared unfit for further service because of the condition of their health, the sum of R1,000 will be paid.

Insurance payments will be made after deductions of sums paid previously. When this is done, the sum of insurance paid for a given kind of insurance will be paid regardless of other kinds of insurance or payments made as compensation for damages.

The resolution has been adopted for the purpose of strengthening social safeguards for servicemen and military reservists and rank-and-file and command personnel in organs of internal affairs.

The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on the length of leave for rank-and-file and command personnel in organs of internal affairs who are serving in localities of the USSR with harsh and adverse climatic conditions.

It has been decided to allow regular leave of 45 days to rank-and-file and command personnel in organs of internal affairs serving (regardless of years in service) in those regions and localities of the USSR where such privilege have been established for servicemen by the 6 January 1988 USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Service for Servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Defense, USSR Committee for State Security, and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Localities of the USSR with Harsh and Adverse Climatic Conditions, and for Soviet Troops Temporarily Stationed Abroad."

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

CPSU Politburo Issues Statement on Lithuania

LD1601224391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[CPSU Central Committee Politburo statement issued on 16 January on the events in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic; from the "Vremya" newscast—read by announcer]

[Text] The socioeconomic crisis and bitter political confrontation, which worsen in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] from day to day, led to the resignation of the government, and on the night of 12-13 January to an open clash resulting in grave consequences and loss of life. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo grieves deeply at people's deaths and expreses its condolences to their kith and kin, and to those who were injured. Given that a tense situation remains in the Lithuanian SSR, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo believes it necessary to state the following:

The tragic events in Lithuania were preceded by the adoption by the Supreme Soviet and state bodies of the republic of numerous legislative acts and decisions that grossly infringe on the rights and freedoms of citizens on the basis of their nationality, residence qualification, profession, party allegiance, and so forth, and effectively establish a ban on dissenting views.

As is known, on 10 January this year, in connection with the sharp exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in Lithuania, USSR president Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, appealing directly to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, proposed that the validity of the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR be immediately and fully reinstated in the republic, and that previously adopted anticonstitutional acts be repealed. The Lithuanian leadership, however, failed to heed the constructive proposals of the USSR president. Instead of making an objective assessment of the situation and seeking ways of reconciling the sides, the Lithuanian leadership embarked openly on a route of disinformation with regard to the intentions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, government, and law-enforcement bodies, and is doing all it can to avoid a political solution to this matter. Statements have been made on republican radio and television to the effect that Lithuania is in a state of war with the USSR and that the Soviet armed forces should be regarded as forces of occupation. The attempts of individual deputies to address the legislature from a constructive standpoint were stopped unceremoniously with the use of physical force. The republican Supreme Soviet also refused to hear the views of deputations from Vilnius labor collectives.

One gets the impression that the Lithuanian leadership is patently striving to evade responsibility and is attempting to put the blame for what has happened on the country's supreme bodies of power and on Communists. It is the duty of genuine patriots and all citizens to embark on the route of legality, law, and order, to restore the Constitutions of the USSR and Lithuania on the territory of the republic, and to ensure the rigorous fulfillment of the decisions of USSR Congresses of People's Deputies with regard to the stabilization of the situation in the country.

It is from this standpoint that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo regards the joint appeal to the UN secretary general by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of Latvia, Lithuania, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and Estonia. This appeal amounts to nothing short of overt disdain for the USSR supreme state bodies and the sovereign rights of the Union, and an open appeal for interference by foreign states in our internal affairs, something that is fraught with the risk of serious complications both inside the country and in the world as a whole.

Consistently advocating that all problems should be tackled by political methods alone, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo appeals to the peoples of the country to display a well-considered approach to the assessment of the events in the Lithuanian SSR, to maintain their self-possession, and to support efforts to restore constitutional legality and order, overcome the crisis, and stop the violations of human rights, whatever slogans they may be perpetrated under. The destiny of the country and every person living in it depends on peace and national accord.

Landsbergis, Gromov Agree to Preliminary Talks

LD1701095391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] The leadership of Lithuania and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs intend to hold preliminary consultations before taking any steps. Agreement on this was reached during a telephone conversation between Landsbergis, head of Lithuanian legislature, and Gromov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs. Landsbergis announced during the Wednesday evening session of the national legislature that contacts were continuing both with the head of the USSR Ministry of Defense and with the command of Vilnius garrison. He also announced that rumors of the movement of troops toward Vilnius were unfounded.

Supreme Soviet Sends Envoy to Lithuania

LD1601164691 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] The USSR Supreme Soviet has decided to hold a referendum on 17th March on whether the country should be preserved as a renewed federation of sovereign and equal republics. [passage omitted]

Also today the USSR Supreme Soviet sent its envoy Georgiy Tarazevich to Lithuania to help local authorities normalize the situation in the republic. Tarazevich will continue contacts with the rival factions with the consent of the Lithuanian leadership.

For the previous three days such contacts were maintained by a delegation from the Supreme Soviet and the Council of the Federation. A delegation spokesman, Nikolay Dementey, has said that in the course of the mission both sides were heard. One side rejected interference in Lithuania's affairs and the other criticized unconstitutional acts by the republican legislature.

The results of the mission have been approved by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and the commanders of the Vilnius garrison.

In discussing the complicated situation in Lithuania members of the Union legislature emphasized the need for preventing any further aggravation and promoting reconciliation in every possible way.

Envoy Addresses Supreme Council

LD1701102591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Address by Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of USSR Soviet of Nationalities, at session of Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius; in Russian—live]

[Text] Esteemed and highly honored legisltaure. I have come to you in these tragic, sad days of mourning to mourn with you. Yesterday at a session of the country's Supreme Soviet, you obviously know about it, information was given about the visit to Lithuania and Vilnius by a group of the Council of the Federation and the Soviet of Nationalities. And I shall say right away that all these days the work of the Supreme Soviet was first of all concerned by these tragic events which have taken place here in Vilnius. This is the truth, and yesterday this was confirmed again as a result of information from the representatives of the Council of the Federation and the Soviet of Nationalities. The information was brief. The tragedy of people's deaths, of course, is a crime, a crime which needs investigating; the guilty must be found and conclusions must be drawn so as to insure that in future such crimes will not be repeated. This is clearly the most important thing.

My mission is to give help to you first and foremost, the leadership, the lawful leadership of the Republic of Lithuania and the legislature, so as in some way to arrange normal life, to find ways of constructive cooperation with your neighbors including with the Union. I feel that relations between the Union and Lithuania have been complicated over the past year. Here I am expressing my personal opinion. And I think that these complexities to a large extent depended, clearly, first and foremost on an incorrect approach, and incorrect, perhaps, presentation of dialogue on the part of the leadership of the center. Because what we have seen over this past year—at least some steps—did not lead to a clarification of relations, to sorting out relations; on the contrary, it led to an increase in disagreement, an increase in misunderstanding on both sides.

Therefore, my mission will also be in some way to find means of constructive cooperation, both for the benefit of the Republic of Lithuania and your people, and for the benefit of all your neighbors and the Union as a whole. I cannot tell you anything specific today, because I only arrived here last night with information about the events which took place here not only from the central press, but the information which has come to our knowledge by the representatives of the Council of the Federation and the Soviet of Nationalities. And so I can only promise you that I shall try justly, honestly, as far as I can, to investigate the situation which has come about, to investigate the consequences and give the appropriate help for the normalization of the situation, normalization of life in the republic. Thank you.

Troops Reportedly Acted on Moscow Orders

PM1601151991 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Jan 91 p 9

[Report on news press conference given by Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the Department for the Country's Protection, by Flemming Rose; place and date not given: "Soviet Officers: Taunting Led to Lithuanian Bloodbath"]

[Excerpt] Leading officers in Lithuania have explained the elite troops' brutal slaughter of civilians by pointing to the fact that the rights of conscripts in the republic are being trodden under foot and that the Lithuanian mass media deride them. The officers also say that the action took place on orders from Moscow, but they are unwilling to show documentary evidence of this to the Lithuanian leadership.

So said Audrius Butkevicius, who is head of Lithuania's protection force, at a press conference yesterday. Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov used the same argument to justify the action in a television address yesterday. The Kremlin is continuing to assert that there were only two deaths, and that the Lithuanians opened fire first.

This is rejected by Butkevicius: "We have chosen nonviolent defense tactics, because we do not want to deliver a trump card into the Kremlin's hands and also because we are well aware that the difference in strength is much too great. If we had had weapons, many more people would have been killed."

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE asked Butkevicius for his comments on the statement by Josef Jirmalavicius, the Communist leader loyal to Moscow, that before the action an arms cache was found in Vilnius and documents from foreign intelligence services were uncovered.

"I only have arms for 100 people, and they are in the legislature building to protect the government and members of legislature. As far as foreign intelligence services are concerned, I would be happy if they would help us now, but this is not the case."

Yesterday there were far fewer uniformed people in the legislature building. It is clear that Lithuania has changed tactics since the military action. Butkevicius said: "If the building is attacked those in uniform will be liquidated first. And I have to think of the future. That is why we have drawn up a plan of action in the event of an attack—a plan that means as few casualties as possible. Events in Lithuania are not over; they are only just beginning."

It is Butkevicius' view that the primary objective is to stabilize the situation. That is why attempts are being made to start a dialogue with the military, although the agreement entered into on Sunday evening has already been broken.

"The military chiefs promised that the curfew would be lifted, that no more buildings would be taken, and that military vehicles would remain on garrison premises. An hour later tanks were rolling through the streets and announcing through megaphones that a state of emergency had been introduced. The following day the radio communications building was occupied." [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry on Media Facts 'Falsification'

LD1601222991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] "Vremya" has today received the following information from the USSR Ministry of Defense press center:

In connection with events in Vilnius, some sections of the mass media, including the central media, are knowingly disseminating false information. There are also instances of outright distortion and the falsification of facts. In doing this, with the aim of lending a semblance of authenticity to publications, television, and radio broadcasts, often names, figures and other specific information are cited. So one newspaper, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA No. 7, [INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER No. 7] on 15 January writes: It has become known that Lieutenant Colonel Tarkhanov turned to officers and soldiers with an appeal not to serve aggression. Here everyone is touched by this fact. Up until today 15 soldiers have refused to participate in military actions and have left their units. As the command of the Vilnius garrison has informed us, there is no Lieutenant Colonel Tarkhanov on the personnel roster. There has not been a single incident of a soldier refusing to carry out orders which have been given. So the aforementioned claim is an ill-intentioned invention.

Another newspaper—MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS—on 16 January reports on a certain paratrooper, Viktor Shatskikh, supposedly shot by his own comrades. The airborne troops headquarters reports that there is no such soldier on the personnel roster. In life there is no Colonel Vladimir Soldatov, deputy commander of a paratroops division, in whose name a report was broadcast on the radio on unrest in the division. The claim that paratroopers shot their own comrade is an insulting lie.

Deserving of the same evaluation are the insinuations of a number of publications that tanks supposedly crushed people—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of 15 January. This slander, abominable in its provocative essence, arouses the just indignation of Soviet soldiers. Many of them, as is well-known, are today carrying out complicated tasks, often involving risk to life, in order to prevent fratricidal conflicts and bloodshed.

Colonel on Appeal Not To Attack Civilians

LD1701104191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0918 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Address by Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Tarkhanov at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius; in Russian—live]

[Excerpts] Forgive me, I had not counted on speaking from this eminent rostrum.

I have come here and I want to speak briefly about the heart of the matter. After the bloody events which took place on the night of 12-13 [January], I appealed on Lithuanian radio to soldiers and officers not to fight against the civilian population, not to shed the blood of civilians.

Yesterday [16 January], on the "Vremya" program, it was stated that in Lithuania certain circles are using various means of disinformation and lies, including the names of allegedly existing people who are making appeals. In particular, Lieutenant Colonel Tarkhanov was named as one who had made such an appeal. It was said in the program that according to the information they received, there was not such lieutenant colonel in the Vilnius Garrison. So I came here today in order to present myself, so to speak. Here is my identity card, my identity as an officer—Tarkhanov, Vladimir Ivanovich. [passage omitted on KRASNAYA ZVEZDA also denying his existence]

There are also reports that I allegedly appealed for men to violate their [military oath] and so forth. I did not call for violation of the oath. It is indeed stated in the oath that we are called on to defend the motherland, and not to fight against the civilian population. I appealed to people not to fight against the civilian population. Thank you. [applause]

Commander Says Vilnius 'Extremely Tense'

LD1601225491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Jan (TASS)—"The situation in Vilnius remains extremely tense", Major General Vladimir Uskhopchik, head of the Vilnius garrison, told TASS correspondents today.

He noted that the formations of fighting men created by the Sajudis leaders at present number thousands of people who possess various weapons systems, including ones produced in the West.

Vladimir Uskhopchik stated that all vehicles leaving and entering the town are now being inspected at checkpoints for weapons, ammunition, and explosives. "In addition we are seeking ways on both sides to defuse the situation in some way," the head of the Lithuanian capital's garrison emphasized. The curfew has been lifted for the night of 15-16 January [date as received].

The task of the military subunits boils down to ensuring order in the town and not allowing a sharp confrontation among population. "If we do not solve these matters, especially the Army subunits, no one here will solve anything," the general considers.

The head of the Vilnius garrison also stated that during his meeting with the leadership of the Lithuanian Government, agreement was reached that for the time being the curfew is lifted, the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs will undertake the maintenance of order. "However, troops will ensure the reliable protection of the population, above all the families of officers and labor collectives", Vladimir Uskhopchik said. Without this, according to him, the situation could become "uncontrollable".

A TASS correspondent was informed by Arunas Grumadas, chairman of the Vilnius town soviet, that the situation in the Lithuanian capital is fully under the control of the town authorities. The town's transport is functioning, and all its enterprises, municipal services, and trade are operating.

On Curfew Suspension

LD1601191691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Video report including interview with V.N. Uskhopchik, commander of Vilnius Garrison, by correspondent I. Minayev in Vilnius—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted [Uskhopchik] The situation in Vilnius remains extremely tense. We were forced to introduce a curfew to prevent conflict and support public order. Yesterday we met the prime minister and government ministers, where the question was discussed of what path we should follow to get out of this situation, and what should be done in these circumstances. There was agreement on several questions. The first one: To suspend the curfew for several days. The militia, headed by Minister of Internal Affairs Misiukonis, takes upon itself responsibility for order during this period, and we resolve our own questions—ensuring reliable protection for the population, first and foremost for the families of officers and the labor collectives.

If at the present time units of the garrison had not occupied themselves with these questions the situation would be, in my view, more tense, and maybe uncontrollable. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Saudargas Cited in London

LD1601123191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0845 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] According to the Lithuanian foreign minister, Saudargas, who is in London, the Soviet Union is no longer a reliable participant in the anti-Iraq coalition because it is not known who is leading it.

A representative of the British Foreign Office has stated that tomorrow he will attempt to arrange a meeting of the Lithuanian and British foreign ministers.

Lithuanian Envoy Not Recalled From Moscow

LD1701084591 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius January 17 TASS—A spokesman for the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry requested the TASS bureau in the republic to circulate the following document:

"The protocol section of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry has been authorized to state that the status of the permanent mission of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow has not been altered and that the permanent representative has not been recalled from Moscow."

The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry asked to circulate the message in connection with the fact that some mass media bodies asserted that the Lithuanian envoy had been recalled from Moscow.

Muscovites Visit Mission for 'Objective' Info

LD1601163691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1247 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] People are arriving in an endless stream at the permanent mission of the Lithuanian SSR, or rather the embassy of the independent Lithuanian Republic in Moscow. They are shaken by the reports on the bloody events in Vilnius. Here you can obtain objective information of the slaughter perpetrated by Soviet paratroopers and the current situation in Lithuania. But the sympathizers come here not so much for authentic

information as wanting to help the victims somehow. Many Muscovites and outsiders have been bringing medicines to the Lithuanian Embassy. Money has been coming in too, and a special account has been opened.

Vilnius Garrison Appeals to Gorbachev, RSFSR

LD1601162791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1128 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Jan (TASS)—A general assembly of servicemen of the Vilnius Garrison of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has adopted an appeal to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet.

It says, in particular: "We, officers and warrant officers of the Vilnius Garrison of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, have received with indignation the statement by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the situation in the Baltic republics. We expected understanding and approval from the Russian Supreme Soviet for our just demands which have been repeatedly stated. We believed that you would thoroughly understand in the present situation and would not draw hasty conclusions. But the statement by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the situation in Lithuania and the appeal by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, has destroyed our expectations.

"Before this statement was made, there should at least have been a visit to Lithuania and a meeting with representatives of labor and military collectives in the republic and an attempt to discover what we are, in the final analysis, trying to achieve and against what and whom we are acting. It is probably worth looking into the matter of who is to blame for the bloodshed. The repeated appeals of V. Landsbergis 'to defend the republic' and the appeal by the Sajudis Sejm to the people of Vilnius to surround the television tower and other installations with a ring of people in effect provoked the clash. And what about the permission given by the department for protecting the district to use weapons? The appeals for people to die rather than betray the interests of the republic? What is this if not an open attempt to make the people of Lithuania clash with the Army?

"Your statement does not help to stabilize the situation in the republic. It is a stab in the back for those who are fighting for their rights and honestly doing their duty as servicemen."

KGB Officers Condemnn Force in Lithuania, Resign

LD1601233791 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Yesterday evening the government information service received the following statement, signed by a group of eight senior officers of the Lithuanian branch of Soviet State Security Committee, or KGB.

They write: We, the undersigned officers of the Lithuanian branch of the Soviet State Security Committee, condemn the use of force directed against the independent Republic of Lithuania which resulted in the bloodshed of innocent victims, and hereby declare that our further presence in this institution is no longer possible. We pledge (?to be with) the entire Lithuania. Unquote.

The statement was signed by a group of eight senior KGB officers.

Former Minister Bakatin Condemns Vilnius Events

LD1601144491 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] A delegation of the USSR Federation Council has ended its mission in Lithuania. It was sent there to examine the situation and to try to establish a dialogue with the opposing sides. The Soviet national parliament is sending to Vilnius another group of people's deputies to carry on the mission. Our commentator Vitaliy Gurov has the details, and this is what he writes:

In the meantime the situation in Lithuania is still complicated—despite the visible stability, with transport, shops and offices working, tension is felt everywhere. Apparently the population is tired of uncertainty. For many people in Lithuania the moments of euphoria are long past over the proclaimed declarations but the reality is dark.

The chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, has declared it is necessary to maintain contact with the military to avoid further casualties. The funeral of the people killed in armed clashes three days ago is being held in Vilnius today.

Meanwhile, a group from the USSR Procurator's Office is working in the republic to try to establish the truth about the dramatic events that resulted in casualties. The officials from the center have to look for cooperation with two republican procurator's offices, independent and the one that is loyal to the Union. The Soviet Procurator General Nikolay Trubin has voiced hope to reporters that understanding will still be reached and if possible the truth will be established.

The events in Lithuania have been condemned by the former internal affairs minister of the Soviet Union, Vadim Bakatin. He said that the actions there were absolutely unconstitutional and lawless, obviously, and, as a result, people were killed. One can only deplore that now, said Vadim Bakatin. He also called the self- proclaimed National Salvation Committee as an imposter and felt that its activities must be of interest for the KGB and for the USSR procurator. [passage omitted]

Boris Oleynik felt it necessary to set up a mixed competent commission at USSR Government level to resolve the contradictions in Lithuania.

Further on National Salvation Committee Appeal

LD1601142891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Jan (TASS)—The Lithuanian National Salvation Committee today called on the president and legislators of the USSR to decide on the introduction of direct presidential rule in the republic.

An appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet was distributed today. It stresses that "the republic is in the grip of chaos, endless rallies, strikes and pickets" and that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is whipping up political tension and stirring up fratricidal clashes that have already caused human casualties." The republic's leadership is "openly calling for physical repressions against Communists and members of their families and is pursuing a course aimed at open confrontation with the Soviet Army."

The committee takes the view that "an extremely reactionary group of Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputies is to blame for provoking the human casualties of 13 January 1991 to satisfy unbridled political ambitions." "The scheme of the Landsbergis group," says the appeal, "is that the human blood which has been shed should cement together the collapsing state structures formed after 11 March 1990." Nationalist hysteria, according to the members of the committee, "is being used to stir up anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in the republic and to organize the total suppression of any form of political opposition."

An appeal from the Committee for National Salvation "on behalf of the majority of the people of Lithuania" to the peoples of the Soviet Union has also been published. It described the current situation in the republics as "dual power" which "cannot last long and which may be resolved at any moment by large scale civilian bloodshed."

Salvation Committee in Vilnius Radio Works

LD1601182391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1422 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report on interview with Oktyabr Burdenko, head of Lithuanian radio measuring equipment works, by unidentified ELTA correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Press Review"]

[Text] Oktyabr Burdenko is a known man in Lithuania. At a recent news conference of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Jermalavicius announced that the previously mysterious and now criminal National Salvation Committee is situated at the radio measuring equipment works, an enterprise headed by Oktyabr Burdenko.

Burdenko has agreed to answer questions by the ELTA correspondent, I will cite several questions and answers:

[Correspondent] Why has your enterprise agreed to accommodate a committee on whose request blood has been shed.

[Burdenko] The National Salvation Committee was formed by various public organizations and strike committees. Although I approve of many of its program statements, the formation of the committee was a surprise to me.

[Correspondent] But you have assumed a patronage over it. This has been confirmed by Jermalavicius.

[Burdenko] You ask Jermalavicius about it. At present efforts are being made to link every negative phenomenon with me.

What is Burdenko's opinion about the murders on 13 January?

He says: I wish to state categorically that it is inhuman to use arms against defenseless peaceful residents. He asked me to report this precisely in this way.

Gosteleradio Issues Document on Radio Seizure

LD1601231491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2151 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] As some media have reported, there were two servicemen among the dead [in Lithuania].

A document has been sent to the USSR president, a fragment of which I will read to you. The people and the Army are united. The armed units helped and defended us and we took control of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Television and Radio.

The Working Committee of the Lithuanian SSR Gosteleradio

Signed: Ivanov, V.V.

Bodies Reportedly Removed From TV Building

LD1601123791 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0845 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] [passage indistinct] Lithuanian bodies out of the occupied radio and television building. According to Motieka, witnesses have seen large sacks being taken out of the building. The republican government has proof that they contained Sunday's victims. Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis says the government has a film showing Soviet soldiers carrying sacks from the radio and television building. Deputy Patackas stated that 57 Lithuanians are missing since last Sunday and a portion of them may have barricaded themselves in the television tower. [passage omitted]

USSR Procurator General Trupin asserts that Lithuanian authorities are hampering Procuracy representatives who are investigating the circumstances of the events in Lithuania by not supplying information.

Landsbergis on Situation Inside TV Station

LD1601002391 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] At the morning meeting of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis expressed his great concern about the fate of people who had to remain in the television tower. There is no doubt that there may be scores of them, dead or alive. People may be staying in that part of the tower where the construction separating the floors is strong. Yesterday pneumatic drills were heard in the tower. Most likely, attempts were being made to reach those who have barricaded themselves in. There is confirmation that military has been removing the dead from the television tower. Vytautas Landsbergis stressed that the military and members of the so-called National Salvation Committee who assisted them—active figures in the Yedinstvo—will answer for this. The culprits will be punished.

Moscow TV: No Bodies, Hostages in TV Tower

LD1601213591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS correspondent has reported from Vilnius: A commission consisting of Olekas, the Lithuanian health minister, Misiukonis, the republic's minister of internal affairs, and Belous, the Vilnius military commandant, has visited the local television tower. All areas, including the roof and the basement, were carefully examined, but they found neither human bodies nor scores of hostages, which were claimed to be there by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet chairman speaking in the legislature.

Yesterday TASS correspondents, together with a group of Soviet and foreign journalists, also visited the television tower in Vilnius. They also satisfied themselves that the claims of the leader of the legislature, seized upon by much of the mass media, did not correspond to reality.

Report on Funerals for TV Tower Victims

LD1601145591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1157 GMT on 16 January carries a recorded report from Vilnius by correspondent Boris Mironov on the funerals of those killed in the attack on the Vilnius tv tower.

Mironov begins by describing the huge crowds who paid their respects over the past three days, and goes on to recall some of the details of the killings: the tankman who killed one named demonstrator recently received a letter of thanks from the military unit, he says. "They killed 14; there were 50-60 murderers—that is about the estimated number of those who stormed the television tower," Mironov says. He adds that everyone is guilty, because those who killed in Tbilisi were allowed to escape unpunished, and those who killed in Vilnius now will kill in other towns tomorrow.

He says that people are demonstrating outside the legislature, Lithuanians, Poles, and Russians, with placards accusing Gorbachev of the massacre.

Program Announcer Aleksandr Tikhomirov adds: "You will agree that it is painful to hear all that. You know, at the request of the creative workforce of Radio Rossii I want to express on behalf of all our staff our deepest sympathy to the families and friends of those who died."

Funeral Services, Rally Planned

LD1601114391 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 16 TASS—Lithuanian parliamentarians canceled their morning session today to pay their last respects to victims killed on January 12.

People flocked to the local palace of sports, where open caskets with the bodies of eight victims were on display.

A mourning service was scheduled to begin at noon, local time, in the Vilnius Cathedral. At 13:00, a rally will be held in Cathedral Square, and the procession will then head for the cemetery.

Three Soviet people's deputies of the Interregional Group arrived in Vilnius for the funeral, Lithuanian radio reported.

Last Night was relatively calm in Lithuania, there were fewer crimes than usual and no "incidents" involving the military were registered, according to a duty officer at the Lithuanian Interior Ministry.

Late on Tuesday, the Lithuanian parliament launched Lithuania's protection fund and set up a government commission to "investigate crimes committed by the Army in Lithuania on January 11 to 13".

A group of seven Soviet prosecutors and a team of military investigators is currently in Lithuania.

Without an investigation no one can say exactly how many people were killed, Soviet Prosecutor General Nikolay Trubin told the Soviet parliament on Tuesday.

Soviet investigators are hampered by local authorities in their work, Trubin said.

There is a diarchy in Lithuania—with power belonging to the parliament and the National Salvation Committee, local Communist Party leaders said.

"Neither side is fully in control of the situation, which remains tense and explosive", they said.

The Lithuanian Communist Party committee supports the imposition of direct presidential rule in the republic. "Otherwise there is a realistic threat of civil war in the republic," it said.

In an afternoon session on Tuesday, the Soviet parliament discussed the situation in Lithuania. Some deputies blamed the Union leadership for developments in Lithuania.

Deputy Andrey Dandzberg claimed there was a "scenario" for developments in Lithuania and that similar events would follow in Latvia and Estonia.

In contrast, Alexey Boiko of the Ukraine and Albert Shamikhin from Riga spoke about widespread public dissatisfaction in the Baltic republics with the permanent offensive on the rights of non-indigenous residents.

Shamikhin accused Russian President Boris Yeltsin of "indifference" to Russian speakers in Lithuania.

"He has simply betrayed the interests of Russians," he said.

President Mikhail Gorbachev speaking in parliament on Tuesday called on Baltic leaders to stop accusing the Union leadership of whipping up tension in the Baltics and repeal decisions that violate human rights.

Both centre and republics should act together in accordance with the law and protect people's security, Gorbachev stressed.

Requiem Sermon Decries Vengeance

LD1601120991 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1010 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Sermon by unidentified priest at requiem mass for Lithuanian victims of clashes with Soviet Army—live]

[Excerpts] When the whole of Lithuania is in mourning, so are all honest people. We are the witnesses of a dreadful tragedy. [passage omitted] You are aspiring for freedom to have the right to preserve your culture, tradition, and faith. All peoples have the right to freedom. We Russians are in mourning because this tragedy is being linked with Russians as directly responsible, and this is shameful for us.

All of us must comprehend and realize what is going on at this time, in these days. People must not be divided along ethnic lines. [passage omitted]

What is happening at present in Lithuania is not a great power tendency. It is merely certain forces wanting to assert communist power in Lithuania, and nothing more. It is not a strengthening of the union of a great power. And all of us, especially the Russians, must comprehend what is going on. [passage omitted]

Dear brothers and sisters, the blood spilled here in Lithuania should not divide us, but unite common, united efforts. We should feel deeply and ask ourselves where are we, who are we, and where are we going? [passage omitted]

It is not possible to stop evil with evil. It is not possible to stop bloodshed with bloodshed. Yes, I understand those who have lost their dear ones. Yes, I understand those who want vengeance. But any vengeance is fraught with dire consequences. [passage omitted]

Riga Broadcasts Funeral Report

LD1601123491 Riga Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1135 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The funeral in Lithuania is being attended by the deputies of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis, the consuls of the United States, Britain, and Sweden. Today funerals are taking place also in four other towns: Kaunas, Raseiniai, Marijampole, and Kedainiai.

Lithuanian radio, despite the fact that its equipment has been seized, has found it possible to broadcast the funeral ceremony. You listen to Lithuanian radio from Kaunas on the wavelength of 450.5 meters [666 kHz] because all other wavelengths have been taken over by the invaders. Unfortunately, according to information available, the wavelength of 450.5 meters is sometimes used by the invaders.

Today it is comparatively quiet in Vilnius. The military is on the move, but after yesterday's agreement it is possible to come to and leave Vilnius freely.

Victims Awarded Posthumous Honors

LD1601150391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Unscheduled announcement by the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium—read by announcer]

[Text] For their heroic bravery and endurance in defending the freedom and independence of the Republic of Lithuania, the Order of the Cross of Vytis, First Class, is to be awarded posthumously to Loreta Asanavicuite, born 1967; Vytautas Vaitkus, born 1943; Darius Gerbutavicius, born 1973; Virgilius Druskis, born 1969; Algimantas Petras Kavaliukas, born 1939; Alvydas Kanapinskas, born 1952; Gitas Masiulis, born 1962; Alvydas Matulka, born 1969; Vidas Maciulevicius, born 1973; Rymantas Juknevicius, born 1966, Rolandas Jankauskas, born 1969.

Signed, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.

Drivers Advised To Avoid 'Incidents'

LD1601160591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1422 GMT 16 Jan 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Information has been received that incidents involving military vehicles are being provoked. Your attention, drivers: If you are stopped by military patrols, do stop. It is recommended to use the roads as little as possible.

Power Cut 'Rumors' 'Without Foundation'

LD1601150991 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Rumors and pressures that forces hostile to Lithuanian independence could disconnect the supply of electricity to the republic are without foundation. At 1300, having phoned the Ministry of Power Engineering, the director of the Ignalina nuclear power station, Anatoliy Khromchenko, advised that there would be no strike at the nuclear power station. The Ministry of Power Engineering stated on its part that even if the threat of strikes becomes real, the supply of power to Lithuania will not be interrupted.

Workers Suspend Strike Decision

LD1601173691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The decision of the workers' collective of the Ignalina nuclear power station [AES] on a shutdown of electricity supplies to Lithuania from 1800 on 16 January has been suspended.

As already reported, the station collective, during its two-hour warning strike on 11 January, demanded the dissolution of the Lithuanian Supreme Council and the restoration of the existing constitution of the USSR and of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. The power workers warned of a possible future shutdown of power supplies.

Our demands remain in force, a statement by the strike committee released today says. But in response to the appeal by the USSR president, the statement notes, and also taking into consideration the continuing mourning in the country, and realizing the specific nature of the work of the AES, the committee has suspended its decision.

Official Shows Weapons Seized in Lithuania

LD1601083391 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 16 TASS—Soviet Deputy Interior Minister Nikolay Demidov displayed here on Tuesday the arsenal of weapons seized from the definite [as received] part of the republic's population lately. He said, in part, that the Soviet president decree on turning in weapons was not fulfilled in Lithuania.

Demidov said that 178 firearms were confiscated in Lithuania in 1990. As many as seventy such arms and some 38,000 cartridges to various firearms were seized in the premises occupied by the department for the protection of the territory on January 12.

Kaunas Garrison Expresses No Confidence in Mayor

LD1501233491 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Commander of the Soviet troop garrison in Kaunas, Colonel (Khachkevich), has made a statement on behalf of the garrison's leadership by which they expressed total nonconfidence to the mayor of Kaunas and refused to maintain any contacts with the mayor's office.

The colonel's protest refers that by calling upon people to defend the key installations in the city, the mayor is seeking to increase tension, simultaneously spreading lies about the Soviet Army.

Civilians in Kaunas are keeping a round-the-clock vigil outside the radio and TV center and the relay station there.

Report on Kaunas 'Political Strike' Denied

LD1601152791 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1410 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] A correspondent of the Spanish news agency has phoned asking how many enterprises in Kaunas are on political strike. News has spread in Moscow that a general political strike has started at the invitation of the National Salvation Committee.

It was explained to her that not a single enterprise is on strike in the town.

'600 Seconds' Program on Events in Lithuania

LD1601174291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 16 January carries a 16-minute program by Aleksandr Nevzorov on events in Lithuania, entitled "600 seconds."

A caption shown at the opening of the program reads: "According to information at our disposal, the program film crew working in Vilnius, consisting of A. Nevzorov, A. Zakharov, D. Logvinenko, and A. Tikhonov have been sentenced to death by Sajudis militants."

Nevzorov introduces the program by stating that no one was present at the Vilnius TV tower or at the Police Academy during the siege of the academy, "when 42 members of the special purpose militia detachment, sentenced to death, locked themselves inside."

The first part of the program entitled "Tower", describes events surrounding the taking of the TV tower. Clips show troops and fighting vehicles surrounding the tower. Nevzorov says: "Here are our lads: 162 paratroopers from the Pskov Division, five tanks, and five airborne fighting vehicles. These are men who, to the end of their

days, are fated to hear nothing but curses, both in the press and on the air. Their photographs, taken through the perimeter fence, are copied and handed out, and red stars are painted on their foreheads." Nevzorov sympathizes with them. They are unshaven and dirty, he says. People are spitting and throwing stones at them and tracer bullets are fired at them. These bullets have left their mark on the windows of the tower. These men know, says Nevzorov, that they have been dismissed the service by the highest order since that fateful night when a man threw himself under a moving tank from a distance of three metres, when it was no longer possible to stop the tank.

Further clips show the troops in and around the tower, troops who "have been branded as criminals and killers." The tanks, says Nevzorov, fired only blanks. Those troops are still there, although they could long ago have found all sorts of clothes in the tower and made their escape unnoticed. The troops are accompanied by several hundred volunteer militia unit members—plenipotentiary representatives of the several-hundred-thousand-strong Russian population, who no longer have a voice or the right to speak or to defend themselves in Lithuania.

Clips show troops and civilians inside the tower. One civilian says: "Thanks to these lads here—if it were not for them, we would surely have had our throats cut by now." Another says: "I swear to you that yesterday a woman came here from that Supreme Soviet and she was crying—there, she says, they are stating that we, she says, will slaughter the Russians, the entire Russian- speaking population, so here you have such statements by Sajudis leaders. And there, I mean, the president, or the Supreme Soviet chairman, calls precisely for armed struggle!" Another man opines that war has been declared on all non-Lithuanians. Other men say that everything started from the fact that workers were greeted with boiling water when they went to the Supreme Soviet building on 11 January to air their grievances.

Nevzorov comments: "These 160 lads are in the tower. They are wearing bullet-proof vests and multicolored paratrooper gear and they have special Kalashnikov assault rifles, and they have turned out to be more honest and courageous than the government that sent them here, which consists of cowards and scum. That government issued commands to the soldiers and they abandoned them to be spat on and fired on, and pretended that it had and has nothing to do with them. You have heard a lot from journalists and politicians about how this diabolical night passed off at the TV tower—now listen to eyewitnesses. When it became essential to seize the TV transmitters mounted on the tower, the paratroopers approached only after the shooting had started." A soldier says that people began to disperse from the tower, but young men standing around began to threaten them and tried to force people back into the tower and even seized young girls and carried them by their arms and legs toward the tower entrance.

Against a background of martial music, Nevzorov comments that years from now, these young soldiers ought to have monuments erected to them—for they saved Lithuania from a bloody carnage called for by the TV tower before it was taken. He continues: "For the time being, Lithuania has decided to drink to the full the fiery cup of civil war and fratricide. The tower that has been taken is silent, but blunt Sajudis directives are constantly going out on the air, via the radio, in the Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian languages, announcing that we are in a state of war with the USSR and combat-readiness number one according to option three has been declared. What sort of option number three is this? Well: Lists of persons from the opposing side, and their addresses, are to be compiled rayon by rayon over a period of 10 days. Their apartments are to be marked. Groups of militants are to be organized. Hiding places for detainees are to be organized. If an attempt is made to release them, they are to be killed. The most active ones are to be taken with their entire families."

The second part of the program, entitled "Boleslav," profiles the man in charge of the Vilnius special purpose militia detachment, called Boleslav. He refused to betray his oath of a Soviet militiaman and go over to the Sajudis side. His portraits, red star on his forehead and eyes gouged out, are everywhere, accompanied by an appeal to get him and kill him. A clip shows a poster with the word "Judas" and his photograph and the same poster are shown reproduced in a newspaper. Nevzorov says: "Here, in the former Police Academy, essentially the entire militia of Soviet Lithuania are gathered—42 people, all from the special purpose militia detachment. These 42 did not wish to betray their oath. The remainder of the Lithuanian militia is on the Sajudis side." The 42 have been officially notified of their death sentence, but decided not to surrender. Clips show the men inside a building, all heavily armed.

Turning to a man in a fighting vehicle, Nevzorov asks: "You refused to go over to Landsbergis' side?" The man replies: "Yes, we did". "Why are you hiding your faces?" "Because we are afraid for our families." Armored personnel carriers surrounded the academy. Reports came in that militants were on their way. The academy was under siege. Someone telephoned and suggested that the detachment surrender but the lads decided to stand firm, until death. A clip shows a building interior, men, and Boleslav talking to some comrade major on the phone. One man in uniform says that all those who refused to take the new oath are under a death sentence, "for betraying the motherland." He says bitterly that he has served 15 years and now this had to happen to him. Boleslav says he expects the building to be stormed any minute. One of his men says: "The death sentence on us has been signed and Landsbergis' order was not to take us alive." Nevzorov asks Boleslav: "Do you intend to stand firm here till the end, till death?" Boleslav replies: "Well, what can you do? What would Comrade Nevzorov advise me to do?" "Stand firm," replies Nevzorov. "Precisely, my people have advised me the same," says

Boleslav. He then tells his people that the expected attackers have sniper rifles and issues instructions on how they should defend themselves. This siege, says Nevzorov, lasted several hours. "Subsequently the Internal Troops arrived—10 airborne fighting vehicles and paratroops. The academy was successfully defended."

Nevzorov comments: "But this is for the time being. This is because Lithuania has indeed decided to drain the cup of civil war to the end. The forces are hopelessly unequal. And there is no hope. And there is no way out for those who dare to speak Russian on this soil. And the politicians are in a frenzy, the small and the big politicians alike. They are up to their necks in dirt and they have shouted themselves hoarse, gaining popularity and a name for themselves from this Lithuanian nightmare. But not a single one of them, these loudmouths who have taken leave of their senses, not a single one of them wants or is able to understand that we have no right to make this sacrifice—sacrificing hundreds of thousands of our Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles. No one has thought of them and no one will. It is simpler to defame the Army and to lie, lie without pausing to think and to talk nonsense and to print the photographs of victims who, on checking, turn out to have died due to heart failure or road accidents; this is simpler."

Clips show fighting vehicles at night, interior of a building, and discarded Soviet passports. Boleslav ends by telling his troops that they are not the attackers, but defenders of their right to think differently and to act as befits their duty and their oath.

Nevzorov concludes: "Lithuania, Vilnius, 14 January 1991." The final clip shows the program to have been compiled on 16 January 1991 and gives phone number 217 01 46 and 217 02 08.

TV Film Called 'Propaganda'

LD1601233391 Riga Domestic Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Leningrad's popular television program "600 Seconds" host Aleksandr Nevzorov is the producer of a so-called documentary film with the cooperation of the Black Berets. The film is about the massacre at the television tower in Vilnius, Lithuania. It is not a documentary. It is totally staged propaganda. The actors in the film portraying the Lithuanians are armed. The Lithuanians in the television tower were unarmed, as are all the citizens of the Baltic states. Aleksandr Nevzorov, who shot the so-called documentary in a few hours, stated that the bodies taken from the morgue were not shot by the Black Berets, but had died of, quote, natural causes, such as heart attacks, etc. unquote. People who die from natural causes do not leave bloody footprints up to the 13th floor.

This film is being shown on Soviet Central Television from Moscow to demonstrate how brave the Black Berets were. There is nothing brave about shooting unarmed civilians. The Soviet empire, in its last wave of terror, is spreading lies, disinformation, and propaganda typical of all tyranies.

This so-called documentary is an insult to all documentary film makers around the world. It can only be called terrorist propaganda.

Popular Front Denounces TV Film

LD1601173291 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1521 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow: News from the Union legislature. At today's morning session the theme of Lithuania was again raised. A proposal was made for Central Television to show a report by Leningrad television journalists from Vilnius, which was shown the night before on the Leningrad channel. It was decided to transmit the report on the all-Union first program. I draw your attention to the fact that today, on Central Television, the report has already been shown once, and in connection with this, the People's Front of Latvia addresses the inhabitants of our republic:

Inhabitants of Latvia! Central Television carried a provocative report about Lithuania, in which persons hidden behind masks—professional killers of peaceful people—are presented as heroes. Therefore, it is important that the inhabitants of Latvia telephone or otherwise contact their friends in Russia to inform them the truth about the danger of attack by Red fascism throughout the Union.

Confusion Over Vilnius, Kaunas Radios Discerned

LD1601234291 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer—in English] Listeners from Estonia have informed us that Vilnius Radio, which was illegally occupied by the so-called salvation army, is using some clips from the Kaunas Radio which is not functioning under the Soviet Army control. Listeners are disorientated about what is true and what is not. Vilnius TV, also occupied by Soviet Army troops, can act in the same way. It is important to remember that Vilnius TV and radio stations are under the dictatorship of Soviet Army.

Communist Broadcasters Fail To Recruit Staff

LD1601000191 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] [Word indistinct] have occupied the Lithuanian Radio and Television as well as the television tower, the Communists will hardly manage as specialists believe to arrange the broadcasting of their own programs. First, the paratroopers overindulged in breaking the equipment; second, on leaving the building the technical staff of the Lithuanian Radio and TV did what they had to do; and finally, going by today's information, the two puppets of the Soviet Communist Party, (?Gildodas Seivonas) and (?Stanislav Unstkevich), the new television and

radio bosses respectively failed to recruit a single person of the Lithuanian Radio and Television to collaborate with them.

[words indistinct] puppet bodies managed to do [word indistinct] rebroadcast the main television programs from Moscow. [passage indistinct]

Radio Vilnius Comments on Listeners' Response

LD1601231691 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] This is Radio Vilnius. Hello dear listeners, both in foreign countries and in Lithuania. We're glad to be with you again, and it is so good to know that you do find our programs necessary and reassuring in a way, helping to keep up your spirits. I mean this speaking about our Lithuanian listeners.

I spoke with some acquaintance of mine today and he told me they were very glad to hear Radio Vilnius again. They said they believed it to be a good sign. If those guys continue working, things are not so bad perhaps as they may seem.

And one Lithuanian journalist got a fax from the Vatican asking confirmation of the renewed programs of Radio Vilnius. Probably the Vatican is too far for our radio signal on medium-wave to reach it. So I thought: Would it be a good idea of someone who picks up our signal considered the possibility of making it stronger if such technical possibilities exist, for more countries to hear the voice of the freedom-loving Lithuania, because there are torrents of lies, poured all over the world by the grand masters of misinformation—the Soviet media.

Silence on Mourning for Victims Deplored

PM1601163091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Ed. Polyanovskiy "Journalist's Notes" column: "And Again, Nobody Will Ask Us..."]

[Text] On that distant day when they reported the deaths of three Soviet cosmonauts, a festive salute was held in the city of Dzhambul. At that time cosmonauts were still few and far between, people knew their faces, they were practically members of the family in every home. The salute was held—I saw it myself—in honor of the local Komsomol's [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] jubilee.

On that recent day when they reported the deaths of 13 people in Lithuania, the television was showing song and dance all day long.

For all the similarities between the two events and their echoes, I am not equating them. The earlier deaths were an accident, this time it was a deliberate act. The earlier merriment was thoughtless, this time it was a deliberate act. After all, the new Gostelradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] leader promised to entertain us.

On that day they told us proudly that the television was back on the air in Lithuania from noon. True, it was. Only they omitted one minor detail: It was under the control of the paratroopers and was transmitting central channel No. 1 from Moscow.

I picture to myself 13 graves. Mothers and fathers, brothers, sisters, girlfriends, plunged into grief. Blood, tears, mourning, hopelessness. And on television—"The Aleksandr Show," Maslyakov entertains the country. This cheap, self-aggrandizing program would be over the top any other evening, but this evening it was a blasphemy, an outrage.

Mothers, sisters, girlfriends. And on the screen—a woman daydreaming.

"I would like to be kissed by Maslyakov."

What were all of us—the whole country and the whole world—waiting for on that day? Prompt, truthful information. And as usual on such days, the whole world learned it first, and ourselves only later.

D. Biryukov, announcer on the "Vremya" program, reported on the "pro" and "anti" demonstrations in Moscow as if they were equal in numbers and nature. Indeed, it was about the mass protest demonstration that the announcer said: "There were also people who...." And an accusing television camera dwelt long on a close-up of the face of USSR People's Deputy Sergey Stankevich. The commentator's oppressive words were exposed for what they were against the background of this young face.

Then there was a long item—a discussion of how it is so very, very urgent to save... the forests.

And then, not without emotion, an item on how aid from the West, our age-old ideological enemies, has finally arrived in Karelia. You see, it is true, there are the packages—but in essence it is a lie. Because on that day the West started loudly discussing the question of whether it is time to stop supplying food products to us because of the aggression.

There are many ways of telling lies in this life. Silence is sometimes more powerful than a direct lie. Only recently Biryukov was broadcasting from Vilnius, talking about complete calm. The tanks were already there, but he did not show them.

Yes, silence is worse than lies. No doubt people could throw stones at us too, we too, in the first days, failed to provide our readers with full information. Who can put a price on that silence now? Because if we had warned the country, told it like it is, perhaps blood would not have been shed.

And why the reference, not to the legitimately elected legislature of the republic, but to the semimythical Committee of National Salvation? Those anonymous petitioners who are always at hand—in Prague, in Kabul, or in Vilnius.

How should the news program have started? With condolences... Not a word!

...We have long grown accustomed to blood. We were raised on blood, other people's lives were always cheap.

It is traditional. Do you remember the American hostages in Iran? Weeks, months—pure politics, and not a word of sympathy for the unfortunate women and children.

Do you remember the shooting down of the South Korean plane? We were the last in the world to be sympathetic.

Do you remember the relatively recent loss of our own nuclear submarine in the northern seas? This time it was our own people, our compatriots. The chief of the Navy Political Directorate appeared on television to justify himself. And not a word of condolences for the families of those who died.

Remember, remember, remember....

It is cheap, every life is cheap—we have never known anything different.

...I wait a day, two days. The minister of internal affairs speaks, the defense minister speaks. How many words were spoken earlier from this very same rostrum about the paramountcy of human values and the humane, democratic society. Today nobody says a word about the families, the nearest and dearest....

Luckily Sukhov the cab driver was in the auditorium at the session. He roused the auditorium, brought them to their feet. In reverence.

Who are we? Where did we come from? Where are we going?

We can neither live nor let live.

No people should prevent other peoples from living. Neither in multinational Lithuania, nor in our multinational country.

I beg the Lithuanians to accept my sincere condolences. And I beg their forgiveness, although I know that tomorrow the next landing force will occupy the next inch of land, and nobody will ask my permission.

IZVESTIYA Reviews 11 Jan Events

PM1601154191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Moscow Edition p 1

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 January 1991 Moscow Edition carries a front-page feature comprised of a series of reports under the headline "Lithuania. 11 January."

The first report in the feature is from the paper's correspondent in Vilnius, N. Lashkevich, and is prefaced "At 1600 hours we received this report from our correspondent in Lithuania." The report reads:

"Friday [11 January] afternoon in Vilnius a subunit of paratroopers occupied the Press House building and the premises of the territorial defense department (the former premises of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF]).

"At Press House, the internal security [vnutrennaya okhrana] put up resistance to the attacking paratroopers. Fire hoses were used. However, the servicemen forced their way into the building. Shots were fired. As was reported by Lithuanian Supreme Soviet press spokesman A. Azhubalis, two people were badly wounded. Arriving some time later at Press House, we saw for ourselves: Near the building stood a wall of people carrying the Lithuanian tricolor. People were standing in groups around armored transports on which paratroopers armed with submachine guns stood erect.

"The whole city is in motion. The radio is making regular appeals to the inhabitants of Lithuania to come to Vilnius to defend important installations. People are gathering at the telephone exchanges and communications centers. At the tall television tower residents have dug deep ditches to prevent the passage of armored transports and tanks. Tanks stand near the territorial defense department.

"Appeals against offering armed resistance are constantly heard. On Independence Square a priest exhorted those assembled to pray for the motherland and to offer nonviolent resistance. Then the entire square bared its head, listened to a sermon, and prayed for Lithuania."

The second item in the feature reads: "After 1740 hours TASS disseminated the following information:

"Vilnius, 11 Jan—Today in Vilnius subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops occupied the premises of the CPSU Central Committee's Lithuanian publishing house. As has become known to TASS' correspondents, this measure was taken in order to return the property to its rightful owner—the CPSU—in line with an instruction from the USSR president.

"Meanwhile, the situation in Vilnius is deteriorating. The radio is carrying regular reports on the timetable of the arrival of 'defenders of the power' from various cities of the republic. The leaders of Lithuania are making

radio appeals to the people to gather at the legislature building, television and radio premises, and Press House.

"TASS' correspondent reports that the Congress of Lithuanian Democratic Forces has delivered an ultimatum to the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, V. Landsbergis, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. Simenas. 'The working people of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and all realistically minded strata of Lithuanian society to whom the fate of Lithuania and its people is dear'—the document says—'express no confidence in you and in the majority of legislature and the government. The Supreme Soviet and government of the republic have failed to justify the hopes of the peoples of Lithuania. They have brought the republic's economy to a state of collapse. They have shamed Lithuania in the eyes of the whole world by their flagrant violation of democracy, of human rights, and of ethnic minority rights. They are blatantly violating the laws of our country and republic. They are betraying the future of Lithuanian people for the sake of greed and self-interest.

"'In behalf of the working people of Lithuania, its workers, peasants, and the best section of its intelligentsia we demand that the Supreme Soviet and Government of Lithuania consent to the USSR president's appeal by 1500 hours local time 11 January and immediately introduce the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR on the territory of the republic. If this has not been done by 1500 hours local time 11 January, we will set up a Lithuanian committee of national salvation which will take into its own hands concern for the future of the Lithuanian SSR.'

"Lithuanian radio asserts that today's unrest in the city claimed three casualties, one of whom is a foreign journalist.

"J. Jermalavicius, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, announced the formation of the Lithuanian national salvation committee at a news conference. Insofar as the operation of the Constitution of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR has not been restored, as indicated in the ultimatum, this organization is taking concern for the future of the Lithuanian SSR into its own hands. In reply, the republic's parliament adopted a statement. It declares that 'any actions of this committee are unlawful.'

"The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has sent the USSR president a statement which calls the appeal by the head of the Soviet state an 'ultimatum.' Since the USSR president has addressed 'a nonexistent Lithuanian SSR, the Lithuanian Republic rejects all his accusations.'

"In Vilnius, subunits of the USSR MVD Internal Troops have taken the republic's Press House and the premises of the Lithuanian DOSAAF under their protection and reinforced the guard at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee building, while in Kaunas they have taken over the technical station of the local DOSAAF branch and in Alitus the premises housing a branch of the Lithuanian territorial defense department. As V. Landsbergis reported at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, USSR MVD Internal Troops subunits have taken the intercity telephone exchange under their protection.

"Lithuanian Railways Minister J. Birziskis urged workers at the ministry's enterprises 'not to give the occupiers' vehicles or other equipment. And Communications Minister K. Birulis, speaking on national radio, urged communications workers not to provide the relevant services for 'Moscow's envoys.'"

The final report, prefaced "At 1920 hours our correspondent reported on the development of events by this time," reads:

"By 1800 hours Independence Square was full of people who had traveled from all over Lithuania at the appeal of the Supreme Soviet. People were also gathering in other parts of the city, where, it was supposed, various installations might come under attack. However, by evening the level of tension had subsided somewhat.

"As already reported, the congress of Lithuanian democratic forces, in which the Lithuanian Communist Party plays the leading role, gave parliament an ultimatum. It established a deadline—1500 hours—after which, in the event of noncompliance with the demands, a salvation committee was to be formed 'to take power into its own hands.' It has become known that the committee has already begun to operate in Lithuania and is based at the Vilnius plant manufacturing radio measuring instruments. An appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet has been prepared.

"In its turn the Lithuanian legislature has adopted a statement which says that the Constitution and laws of the Lithuanian republic operate in Lithuania. 'All disputes must be resolved not by military coercion, not by blackmail, but in line with the principle of treaties and negotiations adhered to by the international community.'

"A number of statements and appeals have been adopted by various parties and movements. Lithuania's minister of foreign affairs, A. Saudargas, has sent a protest note to E. Shevardnadze. 'Such actions cannot be evaluated as anything other than an act of aggression and must be halted immediately.' The document also contains the demand 'to bring the guilty parties to justice and compensate for the damage caused.'

"New consequences of the military action are manifesting themselves. Aside from a youth wounded while guarding Press House, injuries were also sustained by the driver of a truck which was in collision with a tank."

Latvia

Official Responses to Latvian Situation Reported

Gorbunovs Holds News Conference

AU1601163091 Paris AFP in English 1619 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Riga, Latvia, Jan 16 (AFP)—Barricades around public buildings in the Latvian capital Riga will only be dismantled once the Latvian Government feels it is no longer threatened, President Anatolijs Gorbunovs said here Wednesday.

"The barricades have nothing to do with Moscow. They were set up because of domestic political tensions and as a result of recent events in Lithuania," he told a news conference here.

He notably blamed the local pro-Moscow Communist Party which has called for the pro-independence government's overthrow.

"If the situation does not become more tense, the barricades will be taken down. However, security measures must be undertaken," notably strengthening controls into government buildings, he said.

Mr. Gorbunovs' comments came after nationalist Latvian deputies discussed whether to lift the four-day-old barricades protecting the Riga old town from a possible intervention by Soviet forces.

Deputies opposed to ending the blockade argued that the Soviet Army would move in if the barricades were dismantled.

The Latvian nationalists have encircled strategic buildings such as the parliament and the government building, while trucks, tractors and bulldozers are blocking streets.

The Latvians fear a military crackdown against the nationalist government following Sunday's [13 January] bloody intervention against pro-independence Lithuanian authorities.

Godmanis Sees Less Tension

LD1601172491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1121 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Galina Kuchina and Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 16 Jan (TASS)—Speaking on republican television on Tuesday evening, Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, stated that in his opinion, the situation is becoming less tense, and it is quieter. Members of the government will be setting off to the towns and rayons of the republic and to workers' collectives in order to explain the state policy on prices. The search for a real way out of the situation, in the government's view, will be carried out in a dialogue with enterprises and the unions.

At the end of its plenary session, legislature expressed its attitude toward the three-fold increase in prices for products—a decision was adopted in which this measure was considered necessary. At the same time, the deputies noted that the government has not used all measures in order to avert a reduction in people's living standards. In the course of a month the government has been instructed to work out and present to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on the indexation of incomes, and to establish price levels for commodities and products for monopoly producers in the republic.

The sharp increase has caused a state of tension in society and has intensified the split within it. This has found expression in the acts of protest by workers' collectives. "It is paradoxical," People's Deputy Stanislav Buka said, "that the program which we, the opposition, have been proposing over the last few months is now being adopted by the majority faction, but without our participation." The "equal rights" faction, according to its leader, Sergey Dimanis, promised to go back to the sessions hall if the streets of the town and the approaches to the Latvian Supreme Soviet building are blocked.

Because of the absence of the opposition, the People's Front faction is unable to form a consultative conciliation council on equal conditions. The idea of its creation belongs to the deputy minority, who are convinced that a better mutual understanding between the factions would help to reduce confrontation in society.

Deputies Comment on Events

LD1601235991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In today's "Vremya" program we have deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia, (Tatyana Arkadiyevna Zhdanok) and (Yevgeniy Pavlovich Drobot). A wave of tension is washing over the Baltic republics. What is happening in Latvia today? Perhaps, a denouement similar to the one in Vilnius can be expected in Latvia?

[(Drobot)] Yes, the situation in the republic, particularly in the city of Riga, is extremely tense. The center of Riga is barricaded. People have divided into two camps, and are in acute confrontation. There are active supporters of the Latvian Peoples Front. There are those who have come out against the policy of the government and the Supreme Soviet.

In our view, the reasons for this confrontation lie first and foremost in the whole policy of the government and the Supreme Soviet conducted since 4 May 1990. This is precisely where the roots of the evil lie. Strikes are now under way in the republic. Yesterday, strikes were staged

in the cities of Riga and Daugavpils. I am a representative of the city of Daugavpils. Yesterday, 160 of our enterprises held a one-day strike. Rail transport came to a halt for two hours. Similar strikes took place in Riga. A rally took place there yesterday, demanding that the government resign immediately, that the Supreme Soviet be dissolved, that all the president's decrees be carried out, that all illegal armed formations be dissolved.

[Announcer] I know that the new democratic fronts in the Baltic republics are intensively seeking the image of an enemy. It seems to me that this role is falling upon the representatives of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. Do you think this is happening in Latvia, too?

[(Drobot)] This can be seen very clearly, and it must be said that the Army is being attacked from all sides. The attacks have increased, particularly of late in connection with the events in Vilnius. We—(Tatyana Arkadiyevna) and I—have just been watching the session on Leningrad television. We were simply indignant that people could judge events in Vilnius and adopt documents condemning the Army and the actions of the president without knowing about it, and only after adopting all of these documents send a commission to these republics in order to elucidate what is happening there.

Yes, the Army is now evidently essential to us. Understand us. We have nothing more for us to rely on. The government is not listening to the people. The government does not wish to fulfill its demands. We have no protection from arbitrariness.

[Announcer] Even so, the possibility of dialogue remains.

[(Zhdanok)] Yes, the equality faction, among its proposals, insists on the creation, finally, of a conciliation council consisting, in equal parts, of representatives of the ruling Peoples Front, of deputies of the Peoples Front faction and opposition deputies. It insists on the partial reorganization of the cabinet of ministers with the aim of creating a cabinet of trust of all strata of the population, a review of the prices policy and, first of all, the introduction of a mechanism of compensation and indexation. In the first instance we demand that the obstacles should be removed from the approaches to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers buildings in order to remove the tension, to ensure that the deputies do not become hostages of the crowd.

[Announcer] Thank you for the interview.

Minister Expects Future 'Explosions'

LD1601232691 Riga Domestic Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Aloizs Vaznis, Latvia's interior minister, stated today that the forces who wanted to force the institution of direct presidential rule in Latvia (?through) a series of explosions in Riga and throughout Latvia in December 1990 were not successful in doing so. He has received information that during the next 10 days in Riga and in Daugavpils there will be pre-planned explosions at railroad stations, bus stations, soldiers' apartments and military bases, which are planned to create a large amount of casualties. Vaznis invited the Army to help find the guilty parties and institute a higher level of protection to prevent these explosions. He also invited local government councils to protect other strategic locations. He did not rule out possible explosions at other locations in Latvia.

Supreme Soviet Claims Victory Over Opposition

LD1601140291 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1113 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Excerpts] The press center of the Latvian Republic's Supreme Soviet reports that this morning at the Supreme Soviet work began with a sitting of the People's Front of Latvia faction. During the session, questions of tactics were discussed in light of the political situation in the world and specifically in Latvia. In assessing the events of recents days, the faction concluded that at the present moment a great moral victory has been won over the destructive opposition forces, which are preparing for a coup in Latvia. Therefore, the Salvation Committee's announcement on the new structures of state power and on taking over power in Latvia has no foundation.

Power is still being implemented, and the situation in the republic is controlled by the democratically elected Supreme Soviet and the government formed by it. The faction has not yet adopted a decision on how to reorganize guarding of the Supreme Soviet building and other strategic sites, however, because the political situation still remains exacerbated and real threats remain. [passage omitted]

Black Berets Shoot, Kill Truck Driver 16 Jan

LD1601140191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1113 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] We have received new information on a regular crime by the OMON units [Black Berets]. At around 1130 they arrived at the Vecmilgravis Bridge in a yellow militia vehicle, its number is known, and with submachine guns shot through a Kamaz truck's tires and side flaps. The truck and its trailer was loaded with logs. As we have found out the interior services of Latvia have undertaken the guarding of this area, around the Vecmilgravis Bridge. In this connection [here is] an appeal to People's Front members and all other guards of freedom of Latvia: Do not lose vigilance! Do not leave your posts! Various provocations are still possible. United for our land, united for the Baltics!

Yesterday the commander of the Cesis garrison, (?Gurbanovs), explained in the rayon's newspaper that the rumors about the arrival and the quartering of the Black Berets in the garrison's territory are without foundation. The garrison commander emphasized that the relations

of the garrison with the society and self-government of the Cesis Rayon are still loyal.

'First Victim of Red Fascism' Noted

LD1601194991 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Another assault by the Black Berets took place at about 1700 [1500 GMT] near the Vecmilgarvis Bridge against the people guarding the bridge. Our correspondent, Elita Teivane, telephoned Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Orlov, the operational duty officer at the Internal Affairs Ministry, and asked him whether there had been casualties. The lieutenant colonel assured her that there were neither dead nor injured. Regrettably we have received other information. Today, at the Riga Number One Hospital, Roberts Smurnieks, a driver at the Transport Ministry, died at 1850 [1650 GMT] from a shot in the back of the neck. This is the first victim of Red fascism in Latvia.

People witnessing escapades by the Black Berets are asked to phone the Latvian Republic Prosecutor's Office.

Ministry Promises Action

LD1601224791 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry continues not to react to appeals to call to order its subordinate OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] detachment, which is committing crimes in Riga. We already have a first victim—Roberts Murnieks of Riga. [Interior Minister] Aloizs Vaznis reports that another telegram has been sent to the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, and if again there is no reply, the minister promises to take decisive steps against the Black Berets.

The minister has expressed the opinion that some high-ranking people have authorized OMON to engage in any kind of activity. But the military unit to which the Black Berets are formally attached and the divisional commander refuse to bear responsibility for this.

In relation to the events on the Vecmilgravis Bridge, Aloizs Vaznis advises everyone against staying on the bridge for the time being. The minister further warns that a series of explosions may continue. By the way, we have already heard one explosion in Riga tonight. There are no casualties.

Reports on Situation in Latvia Detailed

Riga Tension, Coup Rumors Noted

PM1601140391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent N. Belan: "Resistance"]

[Text] In central Riga literally every little street and alley is cut off by barricades near the buildings of the Latvian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and the radio and television building. People are beginning to dismantle the sidewalk now here, now there. Bonfires are burning, at which large groups of people are warming themselves. A man of about 30 blocks up a narrow passage in one of the barricades erected out of wooden crates, logs, and metal bars.

"Assault troops are breaking through to the city," he explains.

Even in Vilnius, which we visited earlier, there is no such tension, still less barricades and vehicles cutting off streets, and numerous pickets. When we arrived here there was a crowd of many thousands outside the Supreme Soviet building. Bonfires and candles were burning, national flags were fluttering in the wind, and speeches against the CPSU and the Soviet Army did not abate.

I remembered the almost childlike faces: Boys armed with sticks came to defend "their legislature." But in the city itself, a block or two away from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet building, the situation was as usual, unlike in Riga. Here they are waiting for an "invasion...."

Passions began to be heated particularly powerfully last Sunday. At the emergency sitting of the Latvian Supreme Soviet and the large demonstration words were heard about the military dictatorship which is allegedly being established in the Baltic by the communists and the Army, about the military's threat to the lives even of children, and so forth. The statement adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet says, for instance, that "the leadership of the Defense Ministry and USSR Internal Affairs Ministry are trying through illegal decrees to resume the development of military actions in the Latvian republic, too.... Right now the Latvian republic Supreme Soviet is unclear as to whether USSR state aggression is being activated against Lithuania and Latvia or whether a military coup is developing both in the Soviet Union and in the "states it has occupied." [punctuation as published]

The Latvian republic Supreme Soviet appeal to the people of Lithuania asserts that "the most reactionary forces, having lost power at the elections, are trying to regain it with the aid of weapons" and urges that "all possible means be used to paralyze the activity of the Communist Party" and that people unite "in the struggle against resurgent Stalinism!" "The same court of the peoples which condemned brown fascism in Nuernberg inevitably awaits red fascism," it says.

Soon after the end of the Latvian Supreme Soviet sitting I met with its deputies.

"The session was pervaded by the spirit of fueling unnecessary passions and troublemaking among the population," G. Romanov believes. "Attempts to blame the

Army for everything negative happening in our republic and to talk of a military coup and dictatorship do not stand up to criticism. I also consider the creation of a defense staff for the republic Supreme Soviet building to be a provocative step."

Appeals are being heard openly today not only for civil disobedience but also for resistance—to take up arms. Communists and "black colonels" are being anathematized and soldiers and officers of the Baltic Military District are being urged not to fulfill the orders of the "murdering commanders." All this is fueling passions still further, exciting emotions, and making the situation even tenser.

Since talk about dictatorship and the tanks and assault troops advancing on Riga is what the city dwellers are hearing more than anything now, I asked the military to confirm or deny the rumors. My questions were answered by Major General V. Sarafanov, deputy chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate.

"These are all the most total fabrications," Vladimir Mikhaylovich said. "Statements of this kind—that equipment and personnel are advancing on the city and that they have even been seen on the streets of Riga—were heard at the Latvian Supreme Soviet sitting on Sunday. A group of deputies toured the city but saw nothing of the kind, nor could have seen it. They therefore came out with a statement asking for those of their colleagues who are sowing panic and confusion to be called to order. Today, too, there are not and have not been any convoys."

"How are we to react to the barricades erected in the city?"

"That has been done for one purpose: heating the situation still further and stepping up confrontation with the military."

"How do the soldiers and officers take the fact that the district's troops have now become the focus of seething political passions?"

"The troops are engaged in their planned combat training. But, understandably, they are not protected from the republic's internal life. Our people support Latvia's healthy forces, who are calling for constructive dialogue and for the renunciation of the fueling of tension. The district soldiers and officers received with disapproval the appeal from B. Yeltsin addressed to them. Obviously Boris Nikolayevich does not have a full knowledge of what is happening here. We want one thing—for the situation to be stabilized as rapidly as possible. On this plane we see a real path: the introduction of presidential rule—something which we were far from the first to state."

Soldiers Refuse March on Riga

LD1601223791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2140 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Just a few minutes ago our correspondent in Vilnius informed us that, according to President Landsbergis, another military column is approaching the Lithuanian capital, this time from the Kaunas garrison. One of the approach roads to Vilnius has been blocked.

Disquietening news is also reaching us from Riga. Soviet Army personnel carriers have been strafing barricades there on the road leading to the legislature building. One person has been killed and several are wounded.

Colonel Vladimir Soldatov, deputy commander of the Vitebsk Paratroop Division, has reported that his soldiers have refused to carry out the order to march on the Latvian capital, Riga. Enough blood has been spilled in Afghanistan, we do not want bloodshed in Latvia, the soldiers declared. The Vitebsk Paratroop Division will presumably be replaced by a division of Interior Ministry troops from Kazakhstan.

Rumors on Deserters Denied

LD1601173391 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1521 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] In a conversation with a LETA correspondent, Colonel Valdersteimer, deputy military commissar of Latvia, categorically denied the rumors being spread that paratroopers and staff of the republic's military commissariats are catching recruits and those who deserted from the Soviet Army at rail stations and in forests. This is a fabrication, he stated, and I officially declare that the servicemen of the district stationed on the territory of Latvia are in their units.

Reporters Refuse To 'Disinform'

LD1601232191 Riga Domestic Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Soviet Central Television news reporters in Latvia, Kasyanova and (?Sandersons), in a letter to their employer in Moscow have expressed their refusal to prepare reports that will disinform the people of the Soviet Union.

Reports on Strikes Unconfirmed

LD1701084191 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0535 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] In these troubled times the radio station Sodruzhestvo [Community], mouthpiece of the Communist Party, Interfront, and the united council of labor collectives, is working energetically. Yesterday it repeated a relay of the recent Interfront rally. It was noted in the broadcast that working people from 306 enterprises were on strike up to midday, 16 January. This was not later confirmed.

5,000 Said To Participate in 15 Jan Rally

LD1501153991 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1503 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Excerpt] I would like to correct the information which just now, half an hour ago, was reported by Latvian radio. My colleagues said that at the Interfront meeting at the stadium there were 50,000 people. I have telephoned and they have made a mistake. This stadium, if I am not mistaken, when receiving the Dance Festival participants sold only around 5,000 tickets, and, as I said, at 1500 4,000 were brought to this stadium by vehicles. Well, perhaps 5,000 to 7,000 could have been there. [passage omitted]

Latvia Awaits News, Effects From War in Gulf

LD1701053391 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0432 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] This is Riga. It is 0632 [0432 GMT]. Good morning to everyone presently listening to Latvian radio. The teleprinters and telephones in the last hours have been reporting only bloody events. After the Lithuanian events came news of the first victim of the Black Berets in Riga, and the latest news flash: The war in the Persian Gulf began last night. This is a tragedy for the peoples of the world. Unfortunately, we do not know how the latest events in the Persian Gulf will be assessed in Moscow, and what conclusions they will draw. Will Army aggression in the Baltic region be developed under cover of war? We continue to live under a threat. Happily, no new alarming reports from around the republic have come in the last hours.

Commentary Views Situation, Gulf Parallels

LD1601073391 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0601 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] So, it is 0801. Evidently you will already have heard the news bulletin from Cathedral Square on the Second Program, dear listeners, and know about events which have taken place in the republic and the world over the last hours. Yes, nothing tragic or special has occurred overnight in Latvia, and thank heaven that it has not. You are now awake and are going off to work, and looking at the barricades that still remain in the town center. You are wondering when all this will end, and whether all this is necessary. But let us look at it this way: Perhaps it is precisely because people have stood watch all night, for the third night now, here at Cathedral Square and other parts of Riga, that nothing has happened. A certain feeling of calm has come over us. However, disturbing news continues to come in. It is like the calm before the storm. Voice of America has just reported that units of the Pskov Division, which took part in operations in Vilnius, are being hastily moved toward Moscow, evidently to later be transferred here, to Latvia.

An hour ago—62 minutes ago—the deadline for the UN ultimatum to the leadership of Iraq ran out. The world is waiting to see if this is also a calm before the storm or not. We commentators and journalists are already drawing parallels with the events of 1940, as well. Perhaps there exists some kind of interconnection between events now in the Baltic region and in the Persian Gulf. All the more since both the United States and the USSR are (?bound up) in these events, and there are parties with an interest in all this many-sided tangle, so to speak. When will all this end? Well, the Council of Ministers has made plans to examine this issue today and to adopt a decision on further action. We live in expectation, and I would like to remind you why all this is taking place, why this is taking place in Vilnius. It is hardly for the decision on price rises to be abolished, it is hardly because servicemen are anxious about the future of their familes. It all goes much deeper. Let us ponder these political events. Thank you for your attention.

Calm in Latvia Believed 'A Long Way Off'

PM1601201991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova: "Riga: Confrontation Continues"]

[Text] Tens of thousands of people continue to stand guard at various buildings in Riga. There are radio and television reports that heavy equipment to block streets and bridges is still arriving in the Latvian capital.

The confrontation continuously aggravates the impasse. The government was aware of this and adopted a resolution on urgent measures for the observance of order. The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] was told to perform its proper security functions. It was also instructed to coordinate the actions of detachments of "custodians of order" and volunteers for the time being. Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, appeared on television Tuesday evening at the request of the Latvian legislature and said that confrontation had been avoided on 15 January. According to him, this indicates that rally democracy is gathering momentum in Latvia and people are displaying civic responsibility in relations with one another. I. Godmanis believes that the tension is abating.

But calm is obviously a long way off. There are calls to "stick it out to the bitter end," people are told where they can seek assistance if they are injured, and it has been announced that dozens of hospital beds are being made available. Just in case. To be frank, in conditions of total hysteria the "case" could be provoked at any moment.

It came very close, for example, when—this was shown on Latvian television—thousands of excited people, who were almost completely hemmed in near the Council of Ministers building on a central street, awaited the return of the All-Latvian People's Assembly participants from a

rally. The action, which the people of Latvia had been dreading for three days, however, ended in as orderly a manner as it had begun.

The decisions of the All-Latvian People's Assembly will certainly not pacify public opinion. The All-Latvian People's Assembly decided to demand the resignation of the government and dissolution of legislature and the holding of new, early elections. The assembly documents also demanded the introduction of presidential rule. The assembly observed a minute's silence in memory of the dead.

The assembly's documents say that the All-Latvian Committee of Public Salvation is assuming control of the situation and will follow the USSR and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitutions in its actions. Appeals to rural inhabitants, servicemen, compatriots in Russia, and the USSR president were adopted. The committee intends to back the democratic slogan: Human rights above ethnic rights.

At the moment it is hard to judge whether henceforth it will be a dyarchy in the republic, as some commentators say. But it is obvious that by no means all the inhabitants of Latvia recognize the committee.

Republican Strike Committee Chairman Yu. Drukalskiy announced that on 15 January, in the context of a political strike, there were protest actions at more than 300 enterprises in Riga; 166 enterprises in Daugavpils, Latvia's second-largest city; and at dozens of enterprises in Jekabpils, Rezekne, and Liepaja. The strike committee chairman explained that work at the majority of enterprises stopped briefly, without halting production, since the collectives are aware of their responsibility for the economic consequences of possible strikes. Nevertheless, the strike committee does not rule them out unless the politicians relent in their discrimination against a large number of the republic's inhabitants.

On 15 January the People's Front faction adopted a resolution that tempers many provisions of the government decision on raising prices and compensation for the population. The economist S. Buka, a deputy of the "Equal Rights" faction, said in an interview for our paper:

"It is paradoxical, but the majority faction appears lately to have begun to implement opposition proposals it had hitherto totally rejected."

AP correspondents yesterday provided inaccurate information, which was published in IZVESTIYA. Internal Affairs Minister A. Vaznis reported that it is the Riga department of the Minsk Higher Militia School that is in Riga, not the Latvian police academy. Special-purpose militiamen carried out a weapons seizure operation there. The special-purpose militia detachment is not under the Latvian MVD. According to the Latvian MVD, two students sustained injuries during the incident.

'Shadow of Misfortune' Said Cast Over Baltics

LD1601112191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1000 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Let the defense of the strategically important objects of Latvia continue; do not remove the obstacles; and we call on people not to disperse. Over us and the fraternal country, Lithuania, a shadow of misfortune is cast. Over Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia flags of mourning are flying.

In connection with the fact that Vilnius Radio is silent and that the range of Kaunas Radio station's transmission does not reach all of Lithuania, we will broadcast in Lithuanian more frequently.

Legislature Announces Food Prices To Triple

LD1601142491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The legislature of Latvia has adopted a resolution which deems it essential to triple the prices for food products. Members of the government are travelling to towns and rayons in the republic and to the labor collectives to explain the state pricing policy.

Estonia

Source Says Presidential Rule 'Within Hours'

LD1601235291 Riga Domestic Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] (Romans Wacnis), the correspondent for Riga Radio, has just received information from the president of the Latvian Society in Estonia, Mr. (Suinge), that presidential rule may be imposed upon the Baltic states at any moment.

(Suinge) reported that at 1600 this afternoon Ulo Nugis, the speaker of the Supreme Council of Estonia, opened the parliamentary session with news that he had just returned from a meeting of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Council. At this meeting Nuglis claims to have received reliable and convincing evidence that presidential rule may be introduced in the Baltic states within hours.

This step would be preceeded by serious armed provocations by Soviet military personnel, most likely by the Black Berets—the Soviet Interior Ministry forces. Such incidents would then provide a pretext for Mikhail Gorbachev to impose direct presidential rule.

Deputies of the Intermovement faction arose in protest to condemn this announcement which was being broadcast live on the Estonian Television. They accused Mr. Nugis of spreading alarming, unconfirmed information at a time when the political situation in the republic is already tense. Mr. Nugis, however, would not retract this statement.

Two deputies of the Intermovement faction have pledged to begin a hunger strike tomorrow at noon unless the Estonian Government resigns.

Demonstrators' Demands 'Totally Unrealistic'

PM1601155991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 p 1

[G. Sapozhnikova report under the general heading: "No One Wanted To Die. Vilnius Bid the Dead Farewell Yesterday. Mourning Declared in Estonia. Barricades Built in Riga"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Government has prepared for the siege of the Toompea Palace, just in case. The republic's MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has announced that the Supreme Soviet building and other facilities of state significance will be defended with all the forces and technical means at the MVD's disposal. These have appeared in the form of long, thick hoses entangled in the halls, fire extinguishers, and crates of gas masks. The forces—in the form of an incredible number of militia personnel, police school students, economic border personnel, and ordinary "kodukaitse" volunteers ("Home Guard").

Let me say straightaway that all these preparations were unnecessary. The rally that massed many thousands of people was quite peaceful. Only the people's wrath has now been channeled not so much against the Estonian Government as against B.N. Yeltsin—the "last hope"—who "failed to justify the expectations of Estonia's Russian-speaking population." Of course there were people on the square who said that this rally was the last attempt to settle peacefully the mass of problems in the republic and that anything can be expected next, even the most decisive steps. But the demonstrators' demands were mainly economic: the immediate return of prices to their former level; the restoration of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution and the abrogation of all decrees in breach of human rights; the resignation of E. Savisaar's government, and the formation of a new government of people's accord. The demands are totally unrealistic, but the Supreme Soviet has nevertheless been given a day to carry them out.

Legislature To Reply in 10 Days

LD1701104691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent Andrey Trapeznikov in Tallinn]

[Text] Outwardly at least, the capital of the republic is calm. Yesterday, no new meetings or rallies took place. In general, it has to be noted that during these fairly warm January days Tallinn looks very comfortable. Only the flags of mourning on the buildings marking the tragic events in Lithuania; the worried, anxious faces of pedestrians; and the morning and evening lines at the news stands remind one of the difficult political situation in the republic. Yesterday's sitting of the parliament session reflected this.

At 1200, Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Speaker Ulo Nugis met representatives of the coordination committee, which on 15 January held a meeting of Estonian labor collectives and voters outside the building of the supreme legislative body of the republic. I will remind you that according to a statement adopted at this meeting—and by various accounts, 13,000-20,000 people, mainly of non-Estonian nationality, took part in it—the Supreme Soviet should have given a reply at 2400 to all the demands made. In the event of this condition not being fulfilled, participants of the meeting stated that the labor collectives and voters would continue their protest action and seek, by all available means, to achieve the resignation of the government and the dissolution of parliament and then the holding of new elections.

As Arnold Ruutel said during this meeting, replies to all the demands will be given by the Supreme Soviet but over a 10-day period. In essence, the sides have not come to any kind of compromise.

At 1600, the sitting of the session started, indeed starting it in a pretty dramatic situation. The thing is that on the same day members of the Supreme Defense Council of Estonia gathered in the building of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Kadriorg. The council was formed by the supreme republican legislative body in connection with the possibility of presidential rule being introduced in Estonia. If this happens, then, as stated during the session yesterday, other leadership structures will come into action of which deputies will be informed.

Proceeding from this possible situation then, the session confirmed a resolution on parliamentary Deputy Speaker Marju Lauristin being appointed temporary spokesman of the Supreme Soviet abroad. The purpose of this decision is to express the official view of the Estonian Republic in foreign states in the event of exacerbation of the political situation.

There was a curious response to this in the speech by Deputy (Sergey Petinov). He is one of the opposition leaders in the legislature and one of the leaders of the republican United Front of Labor Collectives. Petinov, in particular, again demanded that the statement adopted at the 15 January meeting should be considered and, likewise that the laws of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, starting from 1989, should be sent for expert legal examination by the UN Human Rights Committee. The deputy further proposed adopting decisions on a whole range of, in his view, fundamental issues. In the event of refusal, he warned that together with Deputy Lebedev, starting 1200 on 17 January, that is from today, he would stop his activity in parliament and declare a hunger strike.

After discussion, the legislators voted in favor of considering the issues raised by Petinov at the next morning's sitting.

As became clear from some sources, a meeting was held in the evening in Tallin among leaders of enterprises whose labor collectives oppose the policy of the Supreme Soviet and government. Presumably, the results of the talks between the coordinating committee of working people and voters with the leadership of parliament, and possible actions by the coordinating committee were discussed.

It is not known how this conference ended. Today, the Estonian legislature session will continue its work.

Council To Discuss Ultimatum Reply

LD1601120491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 16 Jan (TASS)—The participants in a protest meeting held on Tuesday in the Estonian capital demanded that the Supreme Soviet form a new government on a quota basis. Twenty-four hours are being given to fulfill this and other demands in the form of an ultimatum. The 24 hours run out this afternoon.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic discussed the presented demands and instructed Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, to give his reply in 10 days' time. This decision was made known to the group of Supreme Soviet deputies that conveyed the demands to the parliament. At the same time it was stressed that the 10-day period which was set was fully in keeping with the standards for examination of written appeals to the Supreme Soviet.

Such a long period of time is required by the Supreme Soviet to find a way out of a tricky situation. "Yesterday the Supreme Soviet approved the activity of the government, and I will be very surprised if it adopts the reverse decision tomorrow," said Edgar Savisaar, head of the cabinet, in an interview to local television after the meeting.

Only the coordinating council of the Intermovement can ratify or reject the reply period proposed by the Presidium. A meeting with its members takes place at 1200 today. In the event the council's reply is negative, the political situation in Estonia may be still further aggravated. The organizers of the meeting will try, with all the means at their disposal, to achieve the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and the holding of new elections, for which, as was noted at the meeting, they will resort to a general political strike.

The main reason for the discontent with the government is its policy of "economic terror" against the population, a policy expressed in unrestrained increases in retail prices and taxes.

Protesters To Meet With Supreme Soviet Members

PM1601160791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Inside and Outside the Estonian Parliament"]

[Text] Tallinn—The treaty "On the Fundamentals of Interstate Relations Between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the Estonian Republic" was submitted for discussion to the Estonian legislature out of turn.

Sergey Sovetnikov, chairman of the Commission for National Relations, asked for its ratification to be deferred.

"Deputies have only just received it and have not had time to familiarize themselves with it. The treaty and the protocol attached to it must be forwarded for discussion to deputies' groups and commissions."

Another viewpoint:

"Of course, this would be the ideal option. But the tragic reality is far removed from it. In view of the extraordinary nature of the situation, the treaty must be signed without delay."

The situation really is extraordinary. The government palace, its fortress towers, and the buildings around it are filled with guards and "Kodukaitse." Ambulances in the yard, fire trucks and pumps in the palace's fine halls. One deputy gave a figure—more than 2,000 guards, not counting the militia, had been placed in full combat readiness to defend the palace and the government from the participants in the rally. It was taking place right there, outside the ancient walls. The organizer was the United Council of Labor Collectives of Estonia. Following its call, more than 10,000 persons came to protest at the unchecked growth of prices, poverty, and lack of rights. The assembled persons honored with a minute's silence the memory of those who have died in Lithuania and all those who have died in interethnic conflicts. The rally participants demanded the restoration of the operation of the USSR Constitution and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, the repeal of the resolutions raising prices, the formation of a coalition government of national concord, and the reelection of the legislature. An appeal to the country's president was adopted, calling on him to "fulfill his constitutional duty and defend the economic, social, and political rights and freedoms of USSR citizens."

A second appeal is contained an open letter to B.N. Yeltsin. "Your purpose is finally clear to us now: to satisfy your own political ambitions in any way—even including the destruction of the USSR."

I must say that B.N. Yeltsin's unexpected arrival in Tallinn and his signing of documents are being condemned in Russian-speaking collectives. Thus, Tallinn Garrison servicemen have sent an appeal to the Russian

Supreme Soviet Presidium. In it they assess B.N. Yeltsin's actions as provocative.

The rally participants forwarded their demands to Supreme Soviet deputies at the moment when they were concluding their discussion of the treaty with Russia. It was ratified by a majority of votes. Of the four deputies' groups representing the Russian-speaking population, just three persons voted in favor.

On Wednesday members of the coordinating council are to meet with the leaders of the Supreme Soviet. In the opinion of A. Ruutel, the 24-hour period allocated by labor collectives for the demands to be met is plainly too little. He suggested increasing it to 10 days, as a dialogue has not yet begun. But, to judge from yesterday evening's television appearance by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, who essentially rejected all the demands and urged the people of Estonia to be ready to defend the government and freedom, talks do not promise success.

Estonian Authorities Seek Help From Reserves

LD1601115291 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Message from Estonian authorities to Reserve Paratroopers in Estonia on 16 January—read by announcer]

[Text] The current situation in our republic does not exclude interference of USSR Armed Forces in the activity of the Republic of Estonia. You, having served in the USSR paratroops, have acquired certain skills and experience which may turn out to be useful at present. Reserve paratroopers, counting on your help we expect you to turn up for a meeting due to take place on 17 January at 1430 in Tallinn, in the hall of the Ministry of the Economy, at No. 1 Komsomoli Street.

Workers Assail Yeltsin 'Secret' Departure

LD1601235791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] (Sergey Filippovich Pasko), a worker at the Dvigatel plant, came to a TASS correspondents' office in Tallinn today. He told those present about something that alarmed his comrades: the secret departure of Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, from Estonia several days ago.

Even the arrival of Boris Nikolayevich was unexpected for us, he said. When a direct broadcast of him signing the joint statement and addressing Russian servicemen on the territory of the Baltic republics and the Russian-speaking population was aired on Estonian television one night, telephone calls started to come into a coordination council which operates within our plant in connection with the aggravated political situation in Estonia. The callers asked for and even demanded a meeting with the leader of the Russian legislature. There was a whole chain of incoming phone calls. There were even suggestions of going to the Tallinn airport to talk to him for at least a couple of minutes. Over 1,000 employees of the plant gathered at the airport, but Yeltsin was not there. We were genuinely sorry and suprised to have found out that he—as has become clear now—in order to hide from the people, got into his car at 0400, deliberately took a wrong turn, entered a highway and then drove off to Leningrad using a roundabout route.

All this looks very strange, and even more so taking into consideration the fact that there was no danger to him apart from meeting workers. Commenting on the signing of the treaty beween Estonia and Russia, Yeltsin said that this was done in order to protect the Russian-speaking population. But one feels like asking: Where was Boris Nikolayevich when anti-Russian laws on language, on migration, and on elections were being adopted in Estonia? Some people could think that he knew nothing about it. No, he was well informed. He betrayed the Russian-speaking population of the republic. His arrival has only acutely exacerbated the political situation in Estonia and in all the Baltic republics.

People's Front Schedules Rally for 20 Jan

LD1601115591 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The Estonian People's Front invites all its supporters to Tallinn's Linnahall where a popular political meeting will take place Sunday 20 January at 1300. The title of the meeting is "Estonia or Russia: Which Will the Tanks Reach First?" Speaking at the popular meeting will be USSR People's Deputy Oleg Kalugin, Edgar Savisaar, and Enn Poldroos, both Republic of Estonia people's deputies.

The popular meeting will take place as an act of solidarity with the big rally organized by democratic forces in Moscow on the same day.

Russian Deputies in Estonia Demand Acts' Repeal

LD1701065491 Moscow TASS in English 0623 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn January 17 TASS—Two Russian deputies to the Estonian parliament demanded at the session on Tuesday that the legislature repeal legislative acts, "infringing on the rights of national minorities and violating international norms in the human rights sphere".

Otherwise, Sergey Petinov and Vladimir Lebedev threaten to suspend their work in the republican parliament and go on a hunger strike at noon on Wednesday.

The deputies demand that laws adopted by the Estonian parliament since 1989 be sent for a legal examination to

the U.N. Human Rights Committee and that the Tallinn council repeal its decisions on housing restrictions.

They also demand that the legislature work out a mechanism to take into account the opinion of parliamentary minority, including the veto right on bills violating rights and freedoms of people.

Estonian Deputy Criticizes Treaty With RSFSR

PM1601124191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[A. Kharchenko and A. Maloveryan report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Two Opinions on One Document"]

[Text] "The treaty on the fundamentals of intergovernment relations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Estonian Republic, signed in Moscow 12 January, is not a retreat or a betrayal as some people want to portray it. It is legal protection," B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, who came to Tallinn, said.

Addressing the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic republics, the leader of the RSFSR legislature stressed in particular that this treaty contains a special protocol which says that a program is being elaborated and will be signed. Using all possible methods, it will assist in the protection of the Russian-speaking population and its rights in Estonia and correspondingly, of Estonians in Russia.

However, there are other opinions on the treaty between Estonia and Russia.

"The document does not reflect the interests of the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia and it does not guarantee the protection of its rights in the future," S. Petinov, a republic Supreme Soviet deputy, believes.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he also noted that the elaboration of the draft treaty and everything connected with it was carried out without participation by the Russian-speaking faction in the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

We voiced our worries not just at the republic Supreme Soviet sittings, but also during conversations with B. Yeltsin, S. Petinov went on. He assured us that the treaty would not be signed without the participation of the Estonian deputies. And at the same time, during the work of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, he had a meeting with A. Ruutel during which Boris Nikolayevich expressed the idea that the treaty may be signed by the end of 1990. The Russian-speaking USSR people's deputies from Estonia sent a note to the head of the Russian legislature asking him to comment on his promises and assurances. There was no reply.

The Russian-speaking population pinned much hope on this treaty, since practice shows that its civic, social, and political rights in a future autonomous Estonia may be restricted. "Predicting a negative reaction to this treaty from the Russian-speaking population, the republic leadership resorted to slyness: V. Andreyev, deputy speaker of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, was invited to Moscow for the procedure of signing the treaty. However he found out about this literally two hours before leaving. Neither he nor anyone else among the Russian-speaking deputies had the text of the treaty. Up to the very moment of the signing, V. Andreyev did not even know the content of the document. And he participated in this as a parliamentary official, not as a representative of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia," S. Petinov said in conclusion.

RSFSR

Moscow Trade Unions Seek Gorbachev Resignation

LD1701114791 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Yesterday evening an extraordinary conference of the trade unions of workers' collectives of Moscow region and oblast adopted an appeal to the working people. It contains a demand that the troops be immediately removed from sites captured in Lithuania and also a call for the resignation of the president and the Supreme Soviet of the country. It supports the course pursued by Boris Yeltsin and the Russian legislature.

General Rules Out Coup Possibility

LD1601140891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1157 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] A reply has been published today in the DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ROSSIYA [DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA] paper to a public statement made by the not unknown military Deputies Alksnis and Petrushenko.

A coup is ruled out, Army General Stanislav Postnikov says. He rejects any involvement of the military command in the statement by Alksnis and Petrushenko. He also stressed that the leadership of the Armed Forces to a large extent does not share the ideas of these deputies the from Soyuz group, on whose behalf they speak.

Leningrad Soviet Convenes Emergency Session

LD1601152491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Leningrad, 16 Jan (TASS)—Events in the Baltic area are having an adverse effect on the sociopolitical situation in the city on the Neva [Leningrad]. This was noted at an emergency session of the Leningrad Soviet which is taking place here. In conditions of general socioeconomic tension any further stirring up of political confrontation is fraught with unpredictable consequences, it was said at the session. An appeal was adopted to the Russian Supreme Soviet and the USSR president.

The session examined measures to stabilize the situation in Leningrad. Deputies resolved to set up a city committee for emergencies.

Deputies Adopt Appeal on Lithuania

LD1701003291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1251 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] Leningrad, 16 Jan (TASS)—In connection with the tragic events in the Lithuanian Republic, a day of mourning was declared in Leningrad today.

At their fifth emergency session which ended yesterday evening, in Maria's Palace, the deputies of the Leningrad Soviet noted that the development of events in the Baltic is having a negative effect on the sociopolitical situation in Leningrad.

After hearing the reports of a group of deputies who had been to Lithuania, the session adopted an appeal to President Mikhail Gorbachev containing a demand to end the illegal use of military force in Lithuania and to withdraw all military units which had been sent to the territory of the Baltic republics. The deputies called for the resignation of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and the top military commanders responsible for the events in the Baltic. An appeal to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet was also adopted. Questions on measures to stabilize the situation in Leningrad were examined. It was decided to convene a committee for emergency situations and to send a delegation of observers to the Baltic republics.

Leningrad Communists Oppose Force in Lithuania

LD1501223691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Leningrad Soviet Presidium has adopted a statement at an extraordinary sitting which protest the use of force in Lithuania and appeals for political methods to solve the conflict situation.

The Bureau of the Leningrad Party City Committee has also come forward with a statement on the situation in Lithuania. In the opinion of the Leningrad communists, the main responsibility for what has happened in Lithuania falls on to those political forces which adopted the course of breaking away from the Soviet Union and of restoring the bourgeoius order in defiance of the USSR Constitution and Soviet legislation.

Chita Deputies Urge Stabilization Measures

LD1601161191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Appeal by deputies of the Chita Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies to the USSR president and the top state authorities of the Union and of Russia—read by announcer]

[Text] The serious crisis that has engulfed all aspects of the political, economic, and intellectual life of the country and the people threatens to bring us all to a nationwide catastrophe. The political situation at the grassroots level is being increasingly aggravated by irresponsible nationalist and separatist forces. Voicing the will of their voters, deputies [of Chita] demand the adoption of resolute constitutional measures aimed at stablizing the situation in the country and society, demand the signing as soon as possible of a new Union treaty, and the ending of the war of laws which could result in a war of the peoples.

Yeltsin, Nordic Envoys Discuss Lithuania

LD1501225891 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The chairman of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, Boris Yeltsin, has met in Moscow with the ambassadors of Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden. The events in the Baltic republics, Lithuania in the first place, were discussed in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

Special worries were expressed over the threat to the democratic changes in this country. It was agreed that this may have foreign-policy consequences for the Soviet Union and damage the situation in Europe.

RSFSR Urges UN Conference on Baltic Crisis

LD1601141991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Now I will briefly set out a statement by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Foreign Affairs published today in the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Events in the Baltic region are taking on a dramatic and alarming nature, it says. The statement, by leaders of the Russian Federation and the three Baltic republics is aimed at joint opposition to the efforts of reactionary forces that are striving to reverse the democratic transformations and to resuscitate totalitarian structures. And it is from this aspect that the address to the international public and the United Nations ought to be regarded, the statement of the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses.

The idea, advanced by the leaders of the four republics, of convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations proceeds from the position that the search for ways to resolve the situation in the Baltic region, especially taking its external aspects into account,

might be helped by the involvement of political figures, scientists, and experts, who without a doubt enjoy authority in the world and who have experience in untying knots of conflict in accordance with universally accepted legal norms, and in strict observance of human rights. A useful role in assisting the holding of such a meeting might be played by the UN secretary general, the statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates.

Yelstin's UN Appeal, Army Idea Criticized

PM1601162991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS political observer Aleksandr Antsiferov report: "On Responsibility and a Sense of Reality"]

[Text] Responsibility and a sense of reality are two qualities whose absence is unpardonable in a politician even in the heat of passion and furious polemic. The shock of the tragic events in Vilnius sears our hearts with grief and pain, but it is at that very moment that we are entitled to expect honest and well balanced assessments and a constructive approach to problems from our political leaders.

People expected that from the news conference given by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet—the first since his return from the Baltic. Everyone expected it, not just Russians: The voice of the largest republic in the Union is too weighty for anything else. But he announced that together with his colleagues, the chairmen of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Supreme Soviet, he had issued a statement addressed to the "United Nations and other international organizations and also to the parliaments and governments of the world's states." It sounds fine! But what does it mean? That perhaps the United Nations will now set to work sorting out the confusing intra-Union wrangles which we, and that includes Boris Nikolayevich himself, created and which threaten to lead to conflict and internecine strife? If this is a serious suggestion, I would like to know whether the esteemed chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has been mandated to make such an appeal, at least on behalf of the Russian parliament? How are we to explain the fact that he made this initiative without consulting the Union Supreme Soviet, the Federation Council, or the head of state? Furthermore, by trying to link events in the Baltic with the solution of the Persian Gulf crisis he has done nothing to facilitate the world community's task.

I should also like to know on whose behalf and how he intends to defend Russia by signing a statement, Point 5 of which reads: "The sides express a readiness to give each other concrete support and help in the event of a threat to their sovereignty"? To the perfectly reasonable question of what concrete steps he has in mind and what help Russia is ready to give the Baltic region, he gave the disheartening reply: "Go and consult the Russian Federation Presidium and Supreme Soviet; this is too serious an issue." It is just that there are great doubts about the seriousness of the intentions with which the head of the Russian legislature signed the document, containing elements of a treaty on a military alliance, without clearly realizing what the side that he represents is able and ready to do.

Furthermore, at the news conference Boris Yeltsin revealed some of his plans relating to the defense of Russian sovereignty. He stated: "We (I wonder: Which we is that?) are increasingly inclining to the view—this will be discussed at the Supreme Soviet, of course; I am making some preliminary remarks here—that a Russian army is essential to us for the protection of sovereignty." Afterward the shorthand account notes applause. I am just curious to know: What were they applauding? The fact that in addition to the existing army poor Russia will have to maintain another one—its own army, as though we don't have enough problems with the existing one? Or does Boris Nikolayevich intend resolving the question "in revolutionary style": by splitting up USSR Armed Forces units by republic?

After casting doubt on the legitimacy and legality of the civil rights demands put forward by his fellow countrymen living in the Baltic region, Boris Yeltsin saw in their just statements the action of certain antidemocratic forces. In asserting that, however, he seems to have forgotten that he is dealing with the fate of millions of people who, under the discriminatory laws adopted in Lithuania, are threatened with the lot of second-class citizens. At the press conference, admittedly, he talked about the promises that he had been given by the leaders of the Baltic republics regarding the restoration of equality for the Russian-speaking population and the military servicemen and members of their families stationed there. But we have heard promises like that a number of times before.

Khasbulatov Views Yeltsin, Baltics, Army

LD1601200891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1205 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Studio interview with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by Vadim Kukishkin, special correspondent and news commentator of Radio Rossii, and unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] [Kukushkin] Hello and good day. I don't know whether everyone is listening to us, but I think that today's conversation is going to be interesting for everyone. In the studio, I repeat, we have Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. My first question: Ruslan Imranovich, please tell us, there have been attempts recently to bring Yeltsin and Gorbachev into confrontation, with absolutely no conception of the fact that the main decisions and the documents which Boris Nikolayevich has been

bringing out are nevertheless decided by the Supreme Soviet of Russia and the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, of course, such fairly blatant attempts to ascribe our attitudes over the condemnation of the aggression in Lithuania to the personality of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin alone, well, such attempts can be seen very clearly. In actual fact, you know that when these tragic events took place a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was immediately convened. The Presidium made a resolute protest, prepared an address on this issue, and instructed Boris Nikolayevich to implement the decisions contained in this address and in the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; in particular to take all necessary actions to end the bloodshed, to put an end to the Lithuanian crisis, and to undertake all necessary negotiations. For these purposes Boris Nikolayevich repeatedly spoke with the president and with Minister of Defense Yazov. Both of them gave assurances that this sad, this tragic event which has brought Lithuania into a state of crisis—this is indeed a Lithuanian crisis—no doubt one can use that term to denote these things—well, according to what they said, this turns out to have been directly brought about by the actions of the leaders of the local military units.

To remove the tension, Boris Nikolayevich, on the authority of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, travelled to Tallinn and met the leaders of the Baltic republics. A number of treaties were concluded there. They concluded agreements there. Boris Nikolayevich in particular met deputies in Tallinn, including the Russian-speaking population, its deputies. Furthermore the treaty which had been concluded somewhat earlier between Russia and Estonia was ratified. Also interesting is the fact that during the ratification, out of nearly 70 Russian-speaking deputies, 60 expressed themselves in favor of it. It would seem that just 10 deputies voted against. In other words the overwhelming portion of the Russian population in the Baltic republics supports our line of putting these relations into proper order with a view, indeed, to taking the necessary measures for a withdrawal of the troops and in order to end this bloodshed.

This is the background against which the activity of Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, should be viewed. Indeed, attempts are being made to ascribe this very serious political activity carried out by the head of the Russian state to just one personality. This indeed is what creates the opportunity to accuse him of working against the implementation of the president's policy. Of course he and I and all of us are going to oppose the implementation of the president's policy if that policy leads to a lot of blood. That is plain. But at the same time I want to say that behind the action of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is the Supreme Soviet itself and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, our fellow citizens who support this line. This we see, this we perceive, there are telephone calls and telegrams of support and newspaper articles. True, in the central press and on television we see something quite different.

[Kukushkin] That is true, but there is another question here which, of course, is linked with these very deputies. This is what it is about. People telephone us from various towns, large and small, in Lithuania, Pakruojis, Siauliai, (?Sialuke)—I wrote them down specially—and many, many others. They call precisely on behalf of the Russian-speaking population. You understand what it is all about. Many people say that the situation which has arisen as a result of bringing in the troops has, as it were, placed...

[Khasbulatov] ...has made hostages of the Russian-speaking population. Of course it has turned them into hostages, of course the tension there is going to be intensified on this wave, of course additional contradictions arise between the two communities, additional tension. These things which were contradictions acquire the nature of conflict—that is beyond all doubt. That is also part of the problem.

[Announcer] That makes it all the more criminal, no doubt, because unnecesssary, superfluous conflicts are heated up.

[Khasbulatov] Of course, and these contradictions are deep-rooted. And of course, under these conditions I consider that we are acting absolutely correctly. Why did we conclude these treaties? Once again, I would like it to be understood: In these treaties we envisage precisely this, the possibility of juridical protection for our fellow-citizens, Russian-speaking people, Russian people living there. There are no other mechanisms for providing protection. The center has effectively refused to implement the protection of Russian people living there in real terms. But these treaties do give us the possibility of putting these relations into good order, of exerting an influence upon these relations, of defending those rights. That is what it is about, why we need these treaties.

[Kukushkin] Many people here probably do not yet know that they are based on international law.

[Khasbulatov] But of course.

[Kukushkin] Any Russian-speaking person can apply to the consulate, to Russia's mission in that republic, and they will protect his juridical rights.

[Khasbulatov] Certainly, certainly. Look, special people are organizing telegrams from individuals—including, obviously, some from those self-styled committees of national salvation—which supposedly condemn these treaties. One has to ask: What do they condemn them for? For the fact that these treaties provide standards which protect the interests, which protect the honor and the dignity and the rights of our people who live there. That is what they condemn them for. These accusations are simply absurd. This has to be understood and explained.

[Announcer] Ruslan Imranovich, what about the army and the armed servicemen, for example: A great deal is talked about this, too, and naturally people who get their information from the programs of Central Television, say, they see these unfortunate, distraught women with children who have had their electricity and heating cut off. Perhaps it should be up to the Ministry of Defense to look after its own servicemen?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, how could it be otherwise? It is the business of the Ministry of Defense, to whose budget almost 100 billion rubles have been allocated this year. What more does our Ministry of Defense want in order to properly concern itself about its servicemen and their families? We are not absolutely happy with this either. We ourselves—and I want to say this—we pay a very great attention to the problems and the needs of the army. We have generals from the general staff and military men and we have even worked out and are working out—we are completing—a housing program for those servicemen who will be leaving the army, including some of those stationed in the countries of East Europe, there is a special program. We are mapping out some very wide-ranging measures for implementing peasant farms.

So we shall help our troops, our army, in a very serious way. We do not have these contradictions. Of course the Ministry of Defense must concern itself, so as perhaps to transfer the units of our people there if possible, transfer them to the territory of Russia alone.

Boris Nikolayevich had a talk with Defense Minister Yazov. We proposed that we should examine this. We shall examine it, we shall study it and we shall adopt specific measures on settling, on giving housing to our troops who really are under threat there.

But you might wonder why they find themselves under threat. It is all a matter of this whipping up of tension. I would like to particularly touch on another question: You will recall that at his news conference, in answer to a question from one journalist, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said: Well, probably we need to look at the possibility and the likelihood of creating a Russian army.

[Kukushkin] But he corrected himself, saying that would only be after discussion in the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

[Khasbulatov] Of course. So now there are completely false interpretations about that remark by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Even today PRAVDA has published what the president spoke about, as if answering a question of a deputy yesterday, as if he was trying under this protection to correct the mistake made by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. But in actual fact it was something completely different. The fact is that we are not preparing to create a Russian armed force, a Russian army. This is the position of the first congress, it is the position of the second congress, it is the position of the Supreme Soviet. We consider that the armed forces, and most certainly the nuclear missile forces, should be under a common command. We should have a single Soviet army. We are not going back on that position.

But just look how things have turned out. After these events, the Lithuanian crisis, it is natural that many deputies and even members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russia have started to ask the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and me: You see, how is it possible to defend our sovereignty if we in Russia do not have an army? So, taking this mood into account, Boris Nikolayevich said, well, it looks as if we will have to discuss this question too. This does not mean at all that we have changed our position and are trying to press on with the creation of our armed forces. But people are trying to present it in this way.

This is yet another wedge they are especially trying to drive between the president and the chairman. Speculation is already starting about these words. I want to assure you yet again, our people, the people of the RSFSR, and also the armed forces, that our policy is clear, it is consistent and it is fully in accord with the decisions of the first and second Congresses of People's Deputies and all the laws of the Supreme Soviet. It can be forecast. It is quite easy for our people to understand, because we are not changeable, we do not take any unexpected turns dictated by impulse, depending on the mood of the leadership, on what this or that person said, or how it was interpreted, or what such and such a paper wrote, so we have to change our whole policy. This does not and cannot happen. We have a consistent and clear policy, including toward the army. We must have a single army in the country. We support the army. We are friendly with many of them. Naturally, not all of them, not all of them. Probably, there are some—and not just probably but certainly—including military men who, you see, had recourse to weapons, and without the knowledge of the defense minister, at that. How can one support such military men? Of course, we condemn those military men who unleashed the Lithuanian crisis and demand that they be brought to book.

[Kukushkin] In general, it is amazing, that there is an article by Bakatin in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA which asks how it can happen that a general has the right, in response to any street committee or apartment block committee, to send in the army and set the army on people, no matter what this committee calls itself.

[Khasbulatov] Precisely, some sort of strange Committee of National Salvation. By the way, IZVESTIYA today, if you noticed it, carried a very wise article by Otto Latsis. Listen, I would like to quote it: Why, though, look so far afield for examples? Are things any better here in Moscow? Have we not read in the Russian Communist Party Central Committee plenum documents appeals for the creation of public salvation committees and self-defense detachments? Salvation from whom? Defense against whom? There is no Landsbergis in Russia. Its Supreme Soviet does not propose seceding from the

USSR and has not adopted laws infringing the rights of its own population. What do we want with salvation committees here?

I end the question from Otto Latsis. I would like to discuss this a little. It is interesting that perhaps the idea of this Committee of National Salvation which has been set up in all the Baltic republics stemmed from the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the RSFSR. What do you think?

[Kukushkin] It is quite possible, because we heard at the press conference that a similar salvation committee had also been set in Russia.

[Khasbulatov] So you see. It, too, will evidently call for some soldiers. Also, evidently, some military men, judging by what has happened, will also move against the legal authorities and the interest of our people.

[Kukushkin] Another situation is quite amazing, that not a single forename or surname of anyone on that committee has been given. Evidently they are afraid of a subsequent trial. Because they understand very well what they have contributed to and what they refuse to discuss in a constitutional manner.

[Khasbulatov] I think that we should wait for the judgement of history. This so-called Committee of National Salvation is, of course, a group of criminals. It is as a result of their criminal actions that today we have these victims in Lithuania: 160 wounded, many of them severely; 14 or 15 deaths already. It is they who brought this about, this tragedy for their people. They must be brought to trial immediately. They must be arrested immediately. That is what those military people should have done if they were true to their duty.

[Kukushkin] Evidently, it is Minister Pugo who should see to this.

[Khasbulatov] It is Minister Pugo who should see to this, and the defense minister should also carry out an investigation on why these commanders, these military commanders allowed themselves to be led by some group of people who declared themselves to be the Committee of National Salvation and began to carry out their instructions, their orders.

Everything is not as simple as that. You see, really, references have been made to what, you recall, happened in Tbilisi. This is being repeated, so it is not just a matter of the Lithuanian crisis. I think that it is a matter of a crisis of central power. The presidential regime which has not yet been fully shaped has also been placed on the verge of crisis, if not into an actual crisis. This must be pondered and considered. Very seriously considered.

There is yet another aspect. The message from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to servicemen is being falsely interpreted, as if Boris Nikolayevich was demanding that the soldiers should not execute the orders of their commanders. But on the one hand, what sort of orders? To shoot people? I could send a message saying, do not shoot people, not in any event. For, according to the Constitution, the armed forces should protect the country from an external enemy. If the army gets involved in such a conflict, that means that it is engaging in unconstitutional activity, and so it is illegal activity.

[Kukushkin] Quite right, because we think of the Soviet Army as a liberating army. We are accustomed to its acting as a liberator and fulfilling a completely different mission. Evidently those generals who try to explain, as it were, everything that they are doing, they are undertaking different functions, are they not?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, punitive functions, totally unworthy ones. You recall that after the events in Tbilisi the USSR Supreme Soviet condemned the army's interference in these matters.

Then our first congress, then the second, recent congress banned the use of soldiers, of young men, of citizens of the RSFSR in other republics and in resolving these ethnic conflicts. Further, we adopted, the Supreme Soviet of Russia adopted a special law banning the use of our young men, our citizens. And so by using them in such a way the commanders are violating this law. And so we are quite right today to demand that they be brought to book in accordance with this law. It seems to me that this ought to be mentioned by the central press and television, and they should not be trying to rain down such very unworthy judgements about the highest official, the head of the Russian state, the head of the Russian legislature.

[Kukushkin] As we have touched on our information media, Ruslan Imranovich, could you please comment on yesterday's Vremya program, it was literally with horror that I watched it, because all of this vocabulary such as "blatant", "brutal", "bellicose", "idiotic," and the like reminded me of the vocabulary of 1937. In general the return of this old terminology is the unavoidable path to the old intolerance.

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, it was with amazement and alarm that I, too, watched that part of the Vremya program and, of course, it seemed that we had begun to renounce such methods several years ago. But you see, once again we see these rudiments of the cold war, but not turned in on our own society. There is this intolerance with regard to different judgements, to a different political line, to the policy which, in particular, is being carried out by the Supreme Soviet of Russia, the very disrespectful attitude to power in Russia. This is intolerable. It is undermining our Russian power.

Assertions are being made all the time, including by the president, about the need to strengthen power. How can power be strengthened if official propaganda tries to undermine this power in this way? They are trying to undermine our legitimate Russian power by programmes such as that Vremya. This is intolerable.

[Kukushkin] Proper behavior is necessary at all time, in this, too. Well, many thanks to everyone who has been

listening to this program. Taking part in the conversation with you have been Ruslam Imranovich Khasbulatov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, (Nataliya Bivchina), and Vadim Kukushkin.

[Khasbulatov] It has been a pleasure.

Buryatia Rejects Moscow-Named KGB Chief

LD1701052591 Moscow TASS in English 0504 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan Ude January 17 TASS—The parliament of Buryatia, a republic in eastern Siberia, has refused to confirm Colonel Veniamin Dolin as head of the republic's KGB State Security Committee.

Dolin was appointed to the post by Soviet KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov two months ago.

Buryatian parliamentarians qualified Moscow's actions as "interference in the affairs of the sovereign state."

Buryatian Prime Minister Vladimir Saganov proposed to the post the incumbent interior minister of the republic, Sergey Ivanov. But his candidature failed to collect the required number of votes.

Dolin said that he was not going to leave his job without being ordered so by the Soviet KGB chief.

Estonia Ratifies Treaty With RSFSR

LD1501173291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The treaty on the basis of interstate relations between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and Estonia, signed in Moscow on 12 January, was ratified at a session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet today. It will come into force once it has been ratified by the parliament of the RSFSR and ratification documents have been exchanged. A protocol on economic and cultural relations between the RSFSR has also been ratified.

Siberians Appeal to Gorbachev, Yeltsin on Prices

LD1101231191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1350 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] Since the first days of the new year an extremely tense situation brought about by the imbalanced situation in the price-fixing system has come about in the Siberian region. This is stated in appeal to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, which was adopted today by the Presidium and the Executive committee of the Altay Kray soviet of people's deputies. The appeal points out that, from 1 January 1991, the subsidy on dairy products to the consumer cooperatives has been raised, and this has led to a sharp increase in their prices. The absence of a mechanism of social protection of the population has had an adverse impact on the people of Siberia and is worsening the situation where the new wholesale and purchase prices for production in all branches of the national economy have been introduced, but wholesale, selling, and retail prices are still absent. As a result, enterprises are carrying heavy losses, the market in consumer goods is becoming scanty, and the dispatch of manufactured output is being help up.

The appeal to the USSR President and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was also adopted in a similar form by the association "Siberian Agreement". The association amalgamates 11 krays, oblast, and autonomous republics of Siberia.

Western Republics

Moldovan Legislature Deplores Force in Lithuania

LD1601215191 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev January 16 TASS—The Moldovan parliament resumed work today to temporarily suspend two provisions from its resolution of September 4, 1990, under which citizens of Moldova were not to be drafted into the Soviet Army. The parliament instructed the republic's government to continue the draft until February 1, 1991.

After a heated debate, deputies approved a statement by the parliament's presidium on events in Lithuania. The statement condemns the Soviet leadership's actions and contains a call on the Soviet president and parliament to end the use of Soviet Armed Forces deployed in Lithuania and other republics to settle conflicts.

"It is time to defend democracy" is the title of a statement on events in Lithuania released to journalists today by the presidium of the Unitate International Movement.

The statement stresses that the crisis in Lithuanian was a natural outcome of the Sajudis policy. The disorganisation of the economy caused by its separatist drive and the disruption of economic ties with other republic brought about the attack on the people's social interests. Along with Poles, Russians and Belorussians, most Lithuanians have also fell victims to Sajudists.

Sajudists' social policy, the bloodshed they provoked and the preparation for a mass political terror testify to the fact that Sajudists regards Lithuania's state sovereignty as the lassez-faire in suppressing ethnic minorities and opposition.

We sympathize with the truly democratic forces headed by the National Salvation Committee, the statement says.

'No Roundups of Conscripts' Planned in Moldova

PM1701093791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Moscow Evening Edition p 1

[From roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, UPI reports: "No Particular Problems With Conscripts in Moldova"]

[Text] There are no grounds for bringing additional troops into Moldova, and no roundups of conscripts will be carried out. This was stated by Major General Nazarov, the republic's military commissar, in an interview with national radio.

In his words, all draft questions are being decided in close contact with Moldova's president and government. As of 1 January, there were 835 persons at large. In the first week of January alone, 386 persons arrived voluntarily at military commissariats. According to Maj. Gen. Nazarov's claim, an agreement that 35 percent of conscripts will serve in Moldova and adjacent Ukrainian regions was reached at a meeting between republic representatives and USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov back on 6 December last year, INTERFAX reports.

Ukrainian Presidium Deplores Vilnius Violence

PM1601165791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent S. Tsikora report: "Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium Statement"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has met twice to discuss the situation and gave its appraisal of what has been happening in Lithuania.

Stating its profound concern the development of events in and around Lithuania, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reaffirmed that it "supports the lawfully elected state organs of power in the republics and takes the position that any acts of violence against national statehood by political parties or by social or other associations are unlawful."

The Presidium "considers the use of military force on the territory of any republic for the purpose of resolving internal political and interethnic conflicts without the consent of the the republic's lawful organs of power to be inadmissible." Moreover: "The contradictions that arise during the process of forming a new community of the USSR peoples must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means and political methods."

The Presidium considers actions that lead to interethnic conflicts and violations of human rights immoral and contrary to law, condemns discrimination against people on ethnic grounds, and calls on all participants in the conflict in the Lithuanian Republic not to allow it to escalate.

Rukh Meeting Protests Events in Lithuania

LD1501151191 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 14 jan 91

[Text] A meeting in connection with the events in Lithuania has taken place in Lvov. Today Dariya Koliyevich, a member of regional People's Movement Organization [Rukh], gave a telephone interview to Radio Kiev.

[Begin Koliyevych recording] Many deputies delivered speeches at the meeting, including Chornovil, Horyn, Vlokh, Kinzer, and a number of others. They all expressed their anxiety about events in Lithuania. The Ukrainian People's Movement organization and Lvov Regional Council held the meeting. Representatives from other republics, including Russia, also spoke at the meeting. The following resolution was read out.

Bringing punitive expeditionary troops into the sovereign Republic of Lithuania is an illegal and anticonstitutional act which indicates that the reactionary forces are gaining ground and that the situation is becoming dangerous. The first offshoots of democracy are being crushed under the cover of law and the maintenance of law and order. The way to sovereignty of national republics that have embarked on the course of building independent states is being blocked. The events in Lithuania indicate that human and national rights are being suffocated, and that the reactionary forces are on the offensive against the people, who have the legal right to state sovereignty and are striving to exercising this right by constitutional and parliamentary means.

In addition, an appeal was read out to the European Parliament and peoples and nations of all countries in the world. [end recording]

This was the report from Dariya Koliyevich.

Interim Coal Price Agreement Averts Mine Strike

PM1601103991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent G. Kondaurov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] The decision of the general directors of the Donbass coal production associations to stop shipping out coal as of 10 January was supported by the mines' labor collective councils. Party committees also backed this extreme measure. The reason for this unanimity is the catastrophic situation in which the coal industry finds itself on the threshold of the market. The government failed yet again to set new coal prices as from 1 January. Every working day meant losses of millions of rubles for the miners.

Despite everything, the general directors have withdrawn their harsh decision. All the mines in the Donbass are working today. Coal shipments to consumers are in full swing.

What has averted the stoppage?

[A.I. Tupikin, member of the Donetsk workers committee] The Ukrainian Government has sent a cable to the session of the Donbass regional union of strike committees stating that coal prices will be decided on. That is to say, they will rise by between 100 and 120 percent in comparison with the fourth quarter of 1990.

[Kondaurov] That applies to January prices, doesn't it?

[Tupikin] Yes, January prices. And subsequently definitive transaction prices for coal will be fixed for the rest of the year.

[Kondaurov] Why is it necessary to raise the pric of coal? What has made this necessary?

[Tupikin] The prevailing situation is as follows: January has begun, our suppliers are charging us new prices for equipment, timber, metal, and mine prop materials. Meanwhile new prices for coal had not been fixed. This means that we are practically unable to pay our way. Our situation is desperate.

[Kondaurov] The latest transaction prices are no solution either. Ukrainian miners need a subsidy of at least 13.5 billion rubles for this year. They are hoping that the central government will take their problems in their hands.

Ukrainian Communist Leader on Party's Role

LD1201000491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1412 GMT 11 Jan 91

[By TASS-UKRINFORM correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jan (TASS)—By rejecting the monopoly on political power the Communist Party came to power legally after regular elections as a result of a free democratic manifestation of will by the citizens. Stanislav Gurenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said this today. In an interview with journalists he noted that the Ukrainian Communist Party gained almost 75 percent of places in the Ukrainian legislature and around 52 percent of the mandates in soviet of all levels.

The first secretary criticized the opposition in the Ukrainian legislature which, in his words, "has more than once threatened division and secession from the Soviet Union", and has turned to far from parliamentary methods. "The severe and at times reckless expressions which the opposition in the republic's Supreme Soviet and outside it has allowed itself, are possible only in the conditions of our young and still fragile democracy," Stanislav Gurenko noted.

The leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party stressed that now the party's main concern is to ensure the normal working of the national economy and reduce to the minimum all possible negative factors in the new year. "Our party carries out and will continue to carry out its policy not by command and forceful pressure, but by working out draft laws, programs and other documents, and by energetic actions for their implementation", Stanislav Gurenko said.

Ukraine Prosecutor Defends Investigation

PM1101134991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report under IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, POSTFAKTUM, UPI, and SIBINFORM roundup: "Ukrainian Prosecutor Accuses 'Rukh'"]

[Text] Ukrainian Prosecutor Mikhail Potebenko has accused "Rukh," along with certain deputies of the "People's Council"—the official opposition within the Ukrainian legislature—of putting pressure on the investigation and on the Prosecutor's Office in connection with the Stepan Khmara case. Let us recall that Ukrainian People's Deputy S. Khmara is charged with violent actions against Militia Colonel Grigoryev during the October Revolution Day celebrations in Kiev on 7 November 1990. By a decision of the UKrainian Supreme Soviet, he was deprived of his deputy's immunity and arrested. In protest S. Khmara went on hunger strike, which he has, however, stopped.

According to the prosecutor, the investigation is coming to an end although representatives of "Rukh" and several other organizations and democratic forces are attempting to influence its progress. They are threatening and blackmailing the investigators and campaigning to discredit the Prosecutor's Office. M. Potebenko stressed that the Prosecutor's Office is "acting strictly within the framework of the law" in the case of S. Khmara.

Ukraine Recognizes Religious Holidays

PM1601115791 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Jan 91 p 1

[Resolution signed by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, in Kiev on 26 December: "Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Proposals Regarding Holidays and Nonworking Days in the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To instruct the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian SSR Commissions on Questions of Legislation and Legality, Questions of State Sovereignty, Interrepublic and Interethnic Relations, Questions of Culture and Spiritual Revival, and Budget, Finances, and Prices to prepare a draft resolution of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on holidays in the Ukrainian SSR.

2. To recognize the religious festivals of Christmas (7 January), Easter, and Whitsun (one day each) as non-working days so as to meet the needs of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who are believers.

The resolution comes into force from the day of its adoption.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet
Kiev, 26 December 1990

Caucasus

Cease-Fire Agreement Said Reached in South Ossetia

LD1601001591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2151 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Tbilisi that this morning, in South Ossetia, the opposing sides reached an agreement on a cease-fire to last for 10 days, but so far we have no confirmation from other sources.

TASS reports that Gamsakhurdiya, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, has sent a letter to the USSR president calling for the suspension of the presidential decree ordering that the legislation acts of Georgia and South Ossetia which change the status of this territory be rescinded.

'Uneasy' Night in Tskhinvali

LD1601231191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by TASS correspondent from Tbilisi; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Last night was extraordinarily uneasy in the town of Tskhinvali, where the curfew continues. Shots rang out in the town, extremists blew up a military vehicle, and some officers of the Georgian militia were wounded.

The day in Tskhinvali was relatively calm, the Georgian Internal Affairs Ministry press center reported. Explanatory work is being undertaken among the population; appeals are being broadcast on the radio, and pamphlets are being distributed with a demand that weapons be surrendered, which is a necessary condition for ensuring order and security.

Georgians Stage Hunger Strike at Moscow Mission

LD1601172291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1247 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] A report from Moscow: A political hunger strike is being held at the permanent mission of Georgia. Taking part are 47 Georgians, Ossetians, and Kurds, who have come from Georgia. They include two people's deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The hunger strikers are demanding an immediate end to interference in Georgia's internal affairs, and the invalidation of the president's decree concerning this, implementation of which in their opinion would signify a declaration of war by the center against the republic. The participants also express their support for the peoples of the Baltic in their struggle for freedom and independence.

MVD Troops Assist With Ossetia Quake Relief

PM1701122791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 1

[Special correspondent F. Sizyy report: "Earthquake Went Unnoticed"]

[Text] In my opinion, no one even felt the tremors of the five-point earthquake in South Ossetia 14 January. That was not because there were no casualties or devastation recorded. Can you frighten someone with an earthquake when the sound of submachinegun and mortar fire is heard constantly?

Tskhinvali, like Beirut in the recent past, is divided into off-limits zones. There is an area controlled by the Georgian militia. But the bulk of the city is in the hands of the Ossetians. Abundant bloodshed has accompanied the confrontation—there are the dead and a host of wounded in hospital. But were it not for the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops subunits, there would have been considerably more casualties. The internal troops are acting as a buffer and peacemaker, almost like UN troops.

Virtually all enterprises and organizations have stopped work in the city. A school has been burned down. The communications center, the party raykom [rayon committee], and other facilities have been destroyed. Oblast structures of power have ceased to exist. The highways into the city are still blocked. Foodstuffs are not being delivered for the population. Over the next few days the bakery—the only enterprise that has somehow been working—will evidently shut down. It is women and children who are the first to suffer. The earthquake proved far more merciful than people. They are still firing at one another.

Armenians in Tbilisi Rally To Support Georgia

NC1601141091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Yerevan, 15 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Grant Abramyan, a section director at the VRASTAN (Georgia) paper in Tbilisi reports that Armenians gathered in front of the government building in Tbilisi and chanted such slogans in Armenian as "Armenians, unity," while the Georgians applauded and cheered the Armenians. It was apparent to all that these were calls for national concordance in the republic and for the realization of the aspirations of the people of Georgia.

This is how the multi-thousand strong rally of the non-Georgian popuation of Tbilisi commenced. The particpants in the rally expressed their unanimous disagreement with President Gorbachev's 7 January decree concerning Georgia. The demonstrators described it as a gross interference in the internal affairs of the republic.

The rally was opened by Teymuraz Koridze, chairman of the Goergian Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission on Education, Science and Culture. He said: "Let all know that the Armenians and Georgians are the ones to have the most vigorous and ancient culture and history in this empire. Our people, who went through grave trials, have created not only national but also permanent international values. Today, I am pleased that in our difficult days we are again together. We were together during the Armenian earthquake and we are together again in these difficult days for our people when the territorial integrity of Georgia is in question." [passage omitted]

Yerevan 'Guerrillas' To Be 'Exterminated'

NC1601144691 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the republican press review]

[Excerpts] HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN has published an article by journalist Bakur Karapetyan about his recent visit to Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh]. The journalist describes in detail the unruly acts committed by the so-called Azerbaijani militia at Stepanakert airport. They are searching all the passengers from Yerevan at (?gunpoint). [passage omitted] The journalist then recounts how the Azerbaijani guerrillas confiscated his Japanese-made recorder and cassettes. The negotiations with Ali Hadjiyev, the commandant of the airport, were in vain.

Bakul Karapetyan later found out that Ali Hadjiyev was sentenced to serve 10 years for taking bribes on 20 February 1985. However, he was released after two years on the condition that he participate in the genocide against the Armenians in Sumgait and Baku. He was appointed a captain for his distinguished service in these pogroms and was assigned to the most crucial spot of the interethnic clashes. But, Hadjiyev is not the only criminal who has been released and included in the Azerbaijani special detachments.

The workers at the internal affairs department in Stepanakert reported that two days ago they saw Hadjiyev planting a bomb at the Stepanakert square. Fortunately it did not go off. He escaped the militia and took refuge in Khochalu village.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 15 January refers to various armed attacks on Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. The radio reports that on the night of 13-14 January during the curfew hours leaflets were distributed in Stepanakert in the nature of an ultimatum to Armenians. The leaflets read: "Esteemed residents of Stepanakert and of the oblast, the guerrillas from Yerevan are committing dastardly acts in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. We warn that unless they leave Nagorno-Karabakh within three days they will be exterminated by the special detachments. Those settlements where they hide will be burnt down. The population of Chaykent—that is Getashen—and of Martunashen will be expelled by 20 January. The gas pipeline and railway entering Armenia and Stepanakert will be closed down. The airport too will be closed down. So it is up to you to decide. We are giving you a 72-hour deadline. Your friends."]

Armenia Protests NKAO Rayon Abolition

LD1601203991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet has condemned a decision of the Azerbaijani Government concerning the abolition of the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], populated by Armenians, and its resubordination to the leadership of a neighboring rayon populated by Azerbaijanis. In light of such a situation, the Republic of Armenia will undertake all necessary steps in order to guarantee the security of the lives and belongings of the Armenian population of the Shaumyanovskiy rayon, it is stressed in a statement.

Armenian Legislature Discusses Lithuania

NC1601150391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet took place on 15 January under the chairmanship of Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet. Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, people's deputies of the USSR and of Armenia, and members of the government took part in the meeting. The meeting heard the message sent by the Supreme Soviets of Lithuania [words indistinct] to all the supreme soviets and governments in the Soviet Union requesting them to express their stance on the developments in Lithuania and issue a relevant statement. The meeting pointed out that the Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers (?have already issued a joint statement). The meeting was informed that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, and in particular Landsbergis, the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, has requested from the members of the Federation Council, and specifically from Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, to extend their stay in the Lithuania republic as long as possible. Their presence in Lithuania is seen as a guarantee against the further exacerbation of the situation.

Next, Babken Ararktsyan briefed the meeting about the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet's 14 January decree which dissolved the Armenian inhabited Shaumyanovskiy rayon bordering Nagorno-Karabakh and incorporated it

into the neighboring Kasum Izmailov rayon. An exchange of views was held and it was decided to publish a statement of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The statement will be published in the press.

The meeting also discusse other matters pertaining to the political life of the republic.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 15 January reports that according to information relayed to the ARMENPRES correspondent by the Lithuanian news agency following the talks between the representatives of the Federation Council, Landsbergis and the command of the northern military okrug "an agreement was reached by late night to reconcile the sides in the conflict." According to the report, following the agreement, the people gathered in front of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet were advised to disperse. Yerevan ARMENPRES at 1215 GMT on 16 January reports a phone conversation with an official at the Lithuanian news agency. He says that a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet is holding contacts in the republic. He adds: "The delegation is trying to prevent the recurrence of the tragedy and is trying to find areas of mutual concession but the situation is gradually getting complicated."]

Warning for Armenia in Lithuanian Events Seen

NC1601132491 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Lithuanian situation continues to remain the focus of public attention. Yesterday's USSR Supreme Soviet session began with the questions raised by the people's deputies concerning the developments there to which USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo replied. He spoke on the situation in Vilnius and on the number of arms confiscated but refrained from offering any comment. Next, Defense Minister Yazov spoke and said that the troops stationed in Lithuania went into action at the request of the so-called National Salvation Committee. More than one thousand irresponsible and armed people had gathered at the television station, and we had to protect the unarmed people they besieged, said Yazov. Gorbachev spoke at the next sitting and accused the Lithuanian leadership of exacerbating the situation. According to Gorbachev, the tension resulted from the so-called constitutional coup of 11 March 1990 and the subsequent anticonstitutional decisions. Gorbachev stressed a few times that 11 March decision was made at night and without a Supreme Soviet quorum. The president failed to mention, however, that two-thirds of the entire body of the people's deputies voted in favor of the decision on Lithuania's independence, and therefore its legitimacy cannot be disputed. Gorbachev did not touch on the issue of who ordered the troops to fire. According to Yazov, the order was given by the commander of the northern military okrug, but it would be naive to think that the high-level officials were unaware of it. The episode is reminiscent of the Tbilisi events two years ago when it was again not possible to ascertain who had given the order. Since the president of the USSR is invested with extraordinary powers, it is logical to assume that he at least knew about the possible use of arms.

Gorbachev also could not hide that he was badly disposed toward [Lithuanian President] Landsbergis, probably because of the latter's unwavering stance. Gorbachev was, however, respectful toward the so-called Lithuanian National Salvation Committee, which is in effect an illegal public organization set up by the Communist Party and has the intention of usurping power. The center, from the president to the country's television station, is encouraging the actions of that illegal body against the constitutional and legal authorities of Lithuania.

Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian legislature, stated at a news conference yesterday that the confrontation between the Lithuanians and the Russian-speaking population is being artificially instigated by the center and is targeted against the democratic reforms.

This policy is well known to us Armenians. It was staged on many occasions in the Armenian and Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] theaters. Over the last three years or so our people experienced many provocations which resulted in bloodshed. The Lithuanian events once again warn us that the same danger might also threaten us and that only if we remain united and prudent can we evade it.